

**SIDELIGHTS ON  
MEDIÆVAL WINDERMERE**

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**A. P. BRYDSON**



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SAINT MARY HOLME WITHIN THE WATER OF WYNANDERMER.

*Frontispiece.*

# SIDELIGHTS ON MEDIÆVAL WINDERMERE

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By A. P. BRYDSON, M.A.

Author of "Two Lakeland Townships."

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## PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED

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| Inquisitiones post mortem  | } | Public Record Office |
| Court Rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster  |   |                      |
| Ministers' Accounts  |   |                      |
| Close Rolls  |   |                      |
| Patent Rolls   |   |                      |
| Charter Rolls  |   |                      |
| Book of Ancient Correspondence   |   |                      |
| " Lancashire Pipe Rolls," by W. Farrer.  |   |                      |
| " Westmorland Pipe Rolls."   |   |                      |
| Stubbs's " Select Charters."   |   |                      |
| Grose's " Antiquaries Repository."   |   |                      |
| " Transactions " of the Royal Archæological Society.   |   |                      |
| " Transactions " of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian<br>and Archæological Society. |   |                      |
| English Dictionary of Historical Principles.   |   |                      |
| Certificates of Colleges, Chantries, Hospitals, &c.—Record Office.                           |   |                      |
| Notes and Queries.—British Museum.   |   |                      |
| Matthew Paris's " History of England."   |   |                      |
| Rymer's " Foedera."—British Museum.  |   |                      |
| " Chronicon de Lanercost."—Bodleian Library, Oxford.   |   |                      |
| Dugdale's " Monasticon."   |   |                      |
| Dugdale's " Baronage."   |   |                      |
| " Coucher Book of Furness Abbey."  |   |                      |
| " Victoria County Histories."  |   |                      |
| Camden's " Britannica."  |   |                      |
| Beck's " Annales Furnesienses."  |   |                      |
| West's " Antiquities of Furness."  |   |                      |
| Hone's " Manorial Records."  |   |                      |
| Cox's " Royal Forests of England."   |   |                      |
| Burns's " History of Westmorland."   |   |                      |
| Baines's " History of Lancashire."   |   |                      |
| Ferguson's " History of Westmorland."  |   |                      |
| Whellan's " History of Cumberland and Westmorland."  |   |                      |
| Lord Lindsay's " Lives of the Lindsays."   |   |                      |
| Clarke's " Survey of the Lakes."   |   |                      |
| Original Charters in Ulverston Parish Church.  |   |                      |
| Saxton's Map of 1563.  |   |                      |
| Speed's Map of 1608.   |   |                      |

## NOTE TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS

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As it was found impossible to obtain any pictures of buildings or scenery of Windermere of Mediæval date, some reproductions of drawings by the author's brother, Captain Bridson, R.N., are inserted to illustrate the general architecture, etc., of the Middle Ages ; the other illustrations are in accordance with the text of the book.

## SIDELIGHTS ON MEDIÆVAL WINDERMERE.

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THE Lake of Winendremer, Wynandermere or Windermere formed in the twelfth century a part of the great barony of Kendal ; its earlier history is involved in obscurity, and beyond the fact that there was a Roman station at the head of the lake but little is known of it.

Camden who wrote his account of Britain in the reign of Elizabeth, says :—" I durst boldly avouch that these (ancient) Britons here were called Setantii. For among these mountains the greatest standing water in all England now called Winandermere (happly of his winding and turning in and out) lieth streatched out for the space of tenne miles or there about with crooked banks and is all paved (as it were) with stone in the bothom ; in some places of wonderfull depth and breeding a peculiar kind of fish found no where else which the inhabitants call a chare. And a little village standing hard by carrieth the name thereof ; in which Eathred king of Northumberland in the yere of Christ 792 when he had by force fetched King Elfwolds sonnes out of Yorke slue them, that by his own wickedness and their blood he might secure the kingdome to himselfe and his."

It is said that when the present round house on Belle Isle was in the course of construction in 1774, remains of a Roman villa with pavements,

pottery and household utensils were dug up, together with some armour, but whether the latter was Roman or mediæval is uncertain.

One of the earliest references to the lake is in the Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, where it is recorded that Gilbert Fitz Roger Fitz Reinfred, baron of Kendal, seized and impounded (*devadiavit*) the boats of the Abbot of Furness, which, he contended, were illegally fishing in a lake over which he claimed exclusive rights both of fishing and of navigation. This was one of the many disputes between the Barons of Kendal and the Abbots of Furness which continued during several centuries. The question of the ownership of the lake was not settled until the time of William de Lancaster III., son of Gilbert Fitz Reinfred, for an action was brought against him by the Abbot and Convent of Furness in the King's Court in 1223. In this action reference is made to the settlement of the boundaries in 1196; the Abbot complained that though William de Lancaster had no land on either side of Windermere, he "deforced" from the monks their fishery in the water of Winendremere and broke their boats there. This contention that William de Lancaster held no land on either side of the lake could not be proved, as in his capacity of Baron of Kendal he certainly held the Manor of Applethwaite, which included the north and north-eastern end of the lake.

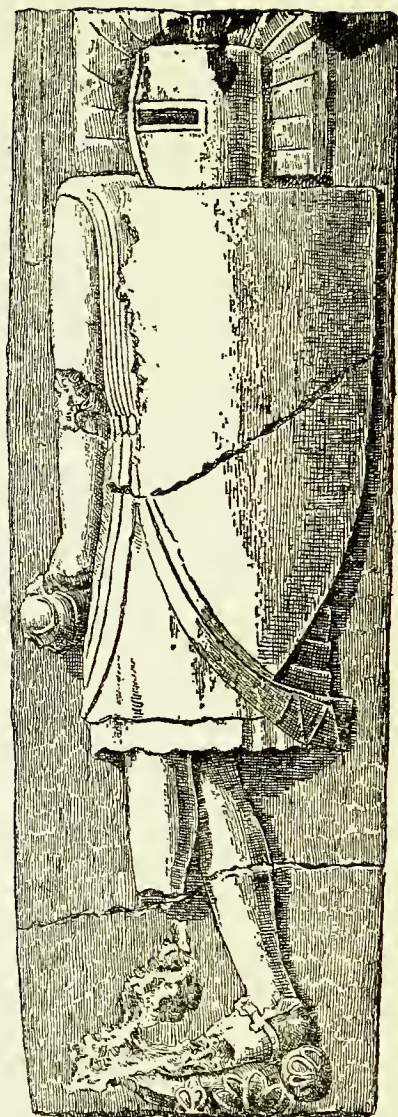
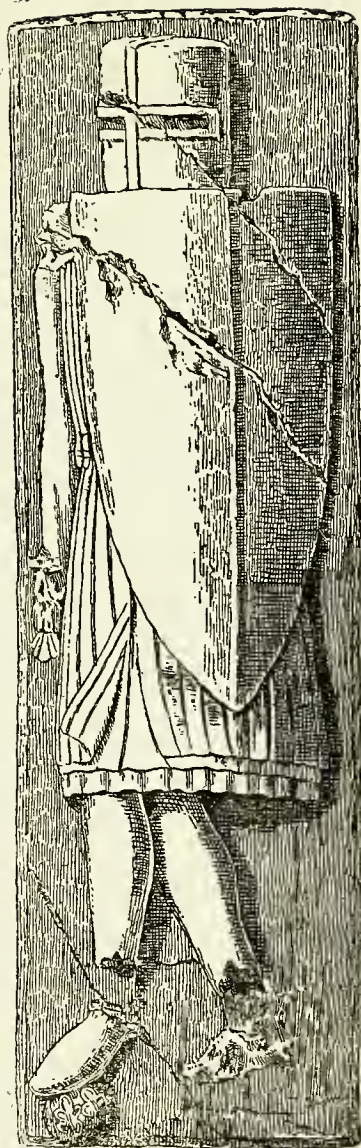
William in his reply denied that the abbot had any fishing rights in the lake, and instanced how his father had seized the abbot's boats when he



had sent them to fish "furtively." The abbot rejoined that as he held the land on the west side of the lake under an agreement of 1196, he was entitled to fish in the lake. Judgment was given in favour of William de Lancastre; in the words of the judgment "and concerning the fishing because the Fine (*i.e.* conclusion of the dispute in 1196) speaks only of the Fells, and the Water of Winendremer as only a boundary (*meta*) of the fells, it is considered that the Abbot can have no fishery there by that fine." The abbot was consequently "amerced" for a false claim.

At the same time the claim of William de Lancastre to erect a gallows at Ulverston (*tenere furcas apud* Ulverston) was confirmed by the court to him, while the claim of the abbot to this "privilege" was disallowed.

By whom the Castle of Kendal was built is unknown, but it has been surmised that the site was formerly occupied by a Roman encampment or fort before the erection of the castle; most probably the builders of the stone castle, of which the ruins remain, were Gilbert Fitz Roger Fitz Reinfred and his wife Helwisa de Lancastre. Helwisa was the last representative of the de Lancastre family, and heiress of their vast domains; that she and her husband must have made Kendal Castle their principal residence is apparent from the many charters and grants issued by them from the castle of "Kirkbie in Kendale"; the grant conferring Kendal Church on the Abbey of St. Mary of York by Gilbert and Helwisa at the end of the 12th



BARONS OF KENDAL, AND LORDS OF WINDERMERE.  
(Effigies of thirteenth century in Furness Abbey).

century confirms this view, for amongst the witnesses to the deed, are the names of many retainers which show that the castle household at that period was on a large scale ; among such witnesses are Johannes and Walterus the cooks, Walter the baker, Gilbert the janitor or doorkeeper, Granitarius (the keeper of the grainery), Samson the clerk, Robertus the keeper of the walls, Robertus bachellarius (*i.e.* a young knight not yet qualified to carry a banner, and so without his gilt spurs), Magister Gregorius de Ebor (Master Gregorius of York), and many other witnesses, including the principal lords holding under the Baron of Kendal, as Adam de Biethum, Roger de Heversham, Johannes de Lonsdale, Gervase de Aincourt, Henricus de Redman, Johannes de Haverington, and others.

Gilbert Fitz Reinfred after joining the rebellious barons against King John, and thus assisting in the enforcement of John's signature to the Magna Carta, suffered many misfortunes in consequence of his act. John, having captured William de Lancastre his son and heir in Rochester Castle, exacted an enormous ransom from his father for his release. The king also seized his lands in Dunnington, Berkshire, in revenge for his defection, and sent William de Lancastre a prisoner to Corfe Castle, and shortly afterwards sent messengers to Fitz Reinfred to confer with him concerning his pardon and his son's release and submission (June 4th, 1216), giving him safe conduct to the king's person, and at the same time



authorizing his bailiff to gather the money required for his pardon and his son's release ; the feudal tenants were thus, as always, squeezed to pay the debts and dues of their overlords.

The almost abject submission of Fitz Reinfred to John throws a sidelight on the relations of the king and his barons, and testifies to the power of the crown at a moment when it would seem to have been at its lowest ebb.

De servitio Gilberti fillii Remfri.\*

Gilbert Fitz Reinfred pledges his fealty to the king and surrenders his castles of Merhulle and Kirkeby (Kendal) a.d. 1215. "To all the faithful in Christ who shall inspect this present charter Gilbert son of Reymfri sends greeting. Know ye that of my own free will and of my own petition I have pledged myself to my lord King John, illustrious king of England, that for all the days of my life I will faithfully serve him and his heirs by the Lady Isabella Queen of England ; nor at any time will I be against them And if I have made an oath to his enemies I will not hold to it nor will I adhere to any charter which the said king made to the Barons of England concerning their liberties which however the Lord Pope annulled.†

And if by any chance which Heaven forbid it should happen to me to recede from this compact as against my lord King and his heirs then let me and my heirs incur perpetual disinheritance of all

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\* From Rymers's *Foedera* v. 1, p. 206, translated from Latin.

† Fitz Reinfred thus abjures Magna Carta.



my lands which shall be for the use of the Lord King and his heirs for all time. And for the greater security of my faithful service I have given to my lord king as hostages (then follow the names of the young hostages who were sons and daughters of the mesne lords in Westmorland holding their lands under the Baron of Kendal). And in addition I have handed over to the same lord King my castles of Mirhull\* and of Kirkeby (Kendal) to do with them as he pleases."

In the Book of Ancient Correspondence at the Public Record Office is a letter from Fitz Reinfred and his son William to Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, saying how impossible it was for them to raise the money necessary for the payment of the fine, and suggesting that it should be paid in yearly instalments. The letter is an oblong piece of parchment; the writing still clear and distinct is in the crabbed, clerkly hand of the period, doubtless that of the clericus or clerk. At a fortunate moment John died (1216) otherwise it is probable that the ruin of the de Lancaster family would have been complete. By what means they were to ingratiate themselves with the new sovereign does not appear, but the accession of Henry III. released William de Lancastre from prison and

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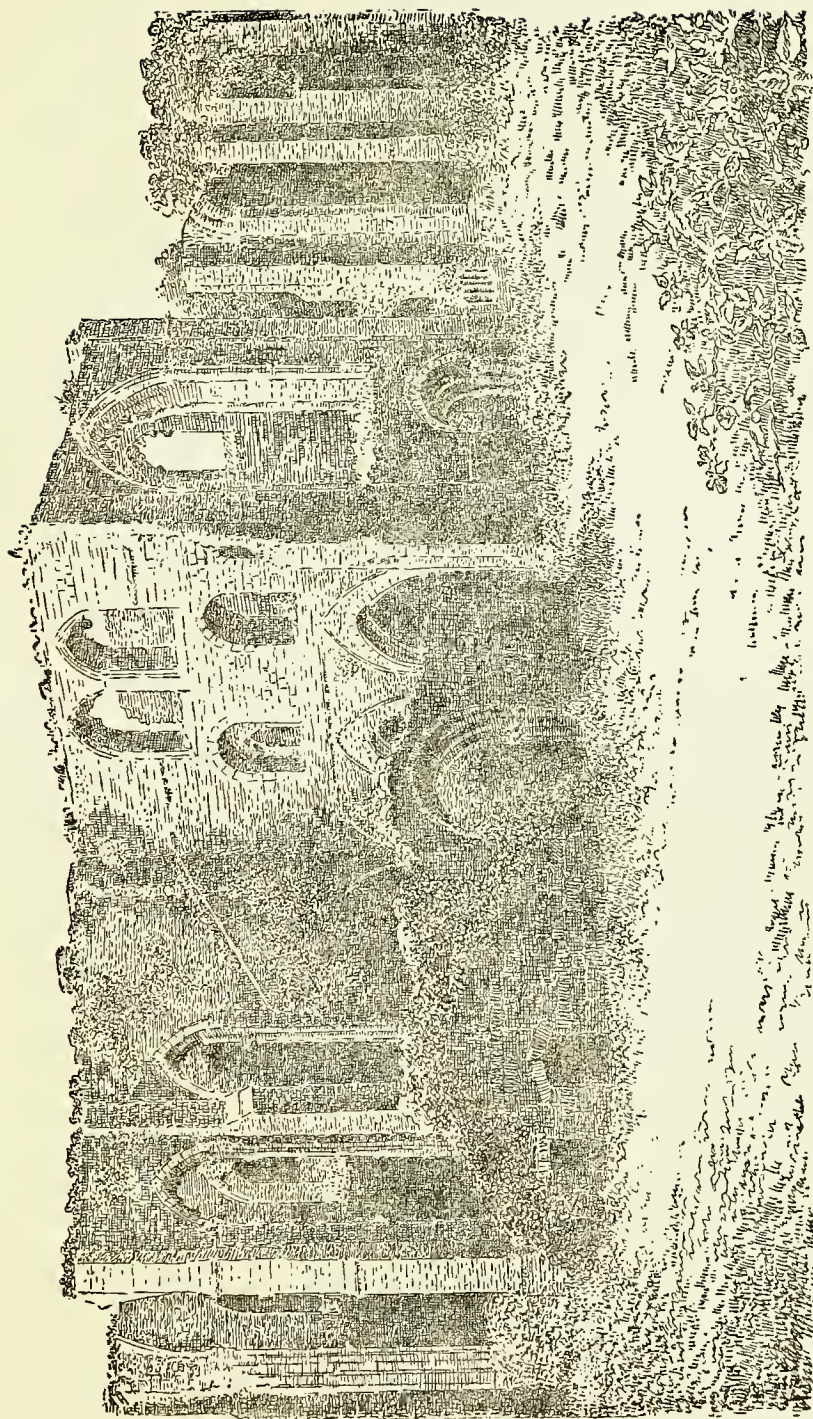
\* A name now lost. From the inq. p.m. of Ingelram de Ghisnes (17 Ed. II.), it appears that the manor of Moureholme included part of the township of Carnforth. Probably it was the caput or head of that portion of the de Lancaster fee in Lancashire which fell to the share of Lady Christiana de Lindsay, comprising the lands in Whittington, Warton, Moreholme, Carnforth, Scotforth, and Nether Wyresdale (*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, by W. Farrer).

restored to Fitz Reinfred his castles. Gilbert Fitz Reinfred died in 1220 after a long and adventurous life, in which he had been the friend and in the service of the autocratic Henry II., the warlike Richard I., and the treacherous John. As steward or dapifer he was admitted to the most intimate affairs, and had thus occupied one of the most prominent positions among the great feudal baronage of the day.

Of his wife Helwisa, the great heiress of the de Lancastres, we hear no more ; there is a monkish legend that she married again after Fitz Reinfred's death and had another family. This, though not impossible, seems improbable, as she must have been between forty and fifty years of age at her husband's death.

William de Lancastre, third of that name, who now succeeded to the domains in Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire was a man of great attainments and figured somewhat conspicuously in the history of the day.

He was a great benefactor to the Abbey of Furness, where the tombs and effigies of himself and others of the family are still to be seen in the Abbey Church ; a large leaven of superstition ingrained in the nature of every mediæval knight and fostered for its own purpose by the Church of Rome, accounts for many of the charters and grants of the middle ages ; William de Lancastre, like others before and after him, was not free from this influence as his constant dealings with the Abbey of Furness prove ; not long before his



RUINS OF FURNESS ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-EAST.



death he made the monks a gift which seems to annul the rights which he and his father had taken so much trouble to maintain, for he granted in November, 1240, to the Abbey permission to keep one boat sufficient to carry *maeremium* (*i.e.*, timber and other building materials) and another small boat (*batellum*) for fishing with twenty nets on Windermere, and also on Coniston Lake ; he made at the same time, however, very severe restrictions to prevent the monks and their servants from poaching and trespassing on his domains adjoining the lake. His expression "my monks" seems to indicate that he had a fatherly and personal interest in the abbey, more especially as he directed that his body should be buried in the presbytery of the Abbey Church, near to the body of his grandfather "of happy memory."

The above grant was made at Kendal Castle and witnessed by his wife, Agnes de Brus (*Domina Agneta*), the Prior of Conishead, his seneschal, his high constable of Kirkby Kendal, and Robert le Taillour his personal attendant (*vallettus*).

In 1237 Roger Garnett was directed to deliver one hundred oak trees in his bailiwick near Lancaster, to William de Lancaster for the work then in progress at Lancaster Castle. And in 1244 the chief forester had a mandate to permit William to take thirty harts in Wyresdale for the king's use.

In accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the Forest, issued in 1217 by the advisers of the young King Henry III., William was ordered to



disafforest all the lands which had been afforested by his predecessors since the days of Henry II., and so act towards his tenants as the king acted towards his magnates. At York, together with the papal legate Pandulph, the bishop elect of Norwich, he witnessed the curious document of Henry III., in which the latter promised to give to Alexander, King of Scotland, his eldest sister Joanna or his youngest sister Isabella in marriage, and that he would find husbands for Margaret and Isabella, sisters of Alexander, if they came to England, and if such husbands were not forthcoming he would return them to the King of Scots safe and free into their own land the next month.

As a warrior he served the king in the French and Scottish wars, and his name appears among the knights ordered to the seige of Cockermouth Castle when held in defiance of the king by William de Fortibus.

On May 6th, 1246, feeling sick in body, at his own request license was given him to make a will of "such goods as it is the custom of this realm to make a will of." A man was unable to make a will dealing with his landed property, but had the power to bequeath his personal goods; thus he could not cut his widow out of her right to dower, nor deprive his next of kin, male or female, of the right of succession to his manorial domains.

On Tuesday after the feast of St. Edmund, William de Lancastre lay on his death bed and died the vigil of St. Andrew, in the 31st year of Henry III. (November 28th, 1246). "His heirs were

enfeoffed between Monday the feast of St. Edward and the Wednesday following and about the middle of the night, because his death was feared, his seal was broken, and afterwards he lived for another hour and died. They had no seisin except through themselves." A plaster impression of the seal is still preserved in the British Museum in which the break across the seal is clearly visible. After his death the usual inquisition post mortem was held. This was a custom instituted in the time of Henry III., and was an inquiry on the death of a tenant-in-chief of the king into the extent of his property, the date of his death, who was the heir, particulars as to such heir, more especially as to age when, if a minor, he or she became the ward of the King, and, as such, valuable property to the King, who used the lands generally to his profit until the ward came of age or was given in marriage.

Thus a writ was issued to the Sheriff of Lancaster on December 25th, 1246 (31 Henry III.) to make the inquisition post mortem as to William de Lancastre.

It was found that Peter de Brus of full age and Walter, son of William de Lyndesaya, aged 16, were his heirs (sons of his sisters Helwisa de Brus and Alicia de Lyndsay).

That he held Kendal Manor, Applethwayte, Wynandermere lacus, Trutbecke forest, Hospital of Sanctus Leonardus de Kirkeby Kendal, Lancastre (unspecified)  $36\frac{1}{2}$  carrucates of land held by the service of one knight, advowson of the churches of Warton and Garstang, the Manor or Vill of Ulverston, &c.



SEAL OF WILLIAM DE LANCASTRE III.

(Lord of Windermere).

TO FACE P. 12.





It is probable that he died at Kendal Castle, and that his body was conveyed to Furness Abbey for interment. We may imagine the long procession of knights, monks, priests, and retainers passing over the wild land that lay between the Castle and the Abbey. The site of his tomb, together with others of the de Lancastres, is pointed out near the chancel of the Abbey Church, and his statue, that of a knight in his martial accoutrements, is still to be seen in the Abbey, though removed from its original position.

“The thirteenth century (A.D. 1200 to 1300) was a period unparalleled in mediæval history for brilliance and fertility. It abounded with great men, kings, statesmen, and scholars; coming between the hard-headed industry of the twelfth and the cruel, frivolous, unreal splendour of the fourteenth. It unites all that is noble in the former with all that is romantic in the latter. A period more productive of ideas in every department of culture the World has never seen.”\* Nevertheless the feudal tyranny of the Middle Ages was the prevailing spirit, and nothing is more illuminating as to the conditions of life then prevailing in England than to glance at the statutes and laws of the age, and note the gradual evolution of a higher standard of civilisation. Here is a picture taken from the statute of Winchester passed in 1285, the 13th year of Edward I., which vividly portrays the insecurity of life and property. Edward I. justly earned the

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\* Stubb's *Select Charters*.

title of Justinian, the great legal luminary of the Roman Empire, on account of the law and order which he infused into all parts of the administration of the country.

“And for more surety of the country the king hath commanded that in great towns being walled the gates shall be closed from sunsetting until sun rising, and that no man do lodge in suburbs nor in any part of the town from nine o'clock (of night) untill day without his host answer for him.

“And the king commandeth that the watches be made, as it as been used in times past, in every city six men at each gate ; in every borough 12 men, and in every town 6 or 4 men, and they shall watch the town continually at night from the sun setting to the sun rising, and if any stranger do pass them he shall be arrested until morning, and if no suspicion be found he shall go quit. And further it is commanded that highways leading from one market town to another shall be enlarged, whereas bushes, woods or dykes be, so that there be neither dyke, tree, nor bush whereby a man may lurk to do harm within 200ft. either side of the way. But this statute shall not extend unto oaks or great trees if it is clear underneath ; and if through the lord not abating the bushes and underwood a murder be done the lord shall be answerable for it. And if perchance a park be near the highway it is requisite the lord shall minish his park the space of 200 feet from the highway or that he make such a wall, dyke or hedge that offenders may not pass or return to do evil. And further it is commanded

that every man have in his house harness for to keep the peace, that is to say every man between 15 and 60 years of age shall be assessed and sworn to armour according to the quantity of their goods and lands ; that is to say from 15 pounds lands, and goods of 40 marks, shall be provided an hauberke, an helme of iron, a sword and a knife, and from forty shillings of land, a sword, a bow and arrows, and a knife ; and he that hath less than forty shillings shall be sworn to keep gisarmes (darts), knives and other less weapons, and he that hath less than 20 marks in goods shall have swords, knives and other less weapons ; and all other men that may shall have bows and arrows out of the forest, and in the forest bows and boults ; and that view of armour be made every year two times. And in every hundred two constables shall be chosen to make view of armour, and shall present before the justices assigned such faults as they do see in the country about armour, watches, and highways ; and from henceforth let the sheriffs and bailiffs take good heed that they follow the cry with the country, and after as they are bounden to keep horses and armour so to do.

“ And the king commandeth and forbiddeth that from henceforth neither fairs nor markets be kept in church yards for the Honour of Holy Church.

“ Given at Wyncestre (Winchester) the 8th day of October in the thirteenth year of the king (Edward I.) s.d. 1285.”

With the death of William de Lancastre III. the descent of the barony of Kendal ceased to be in

the direct male line, and the barony itself was divided into two parts.

Some of the monkish historians, who were often not too particular in verifying their facts, have given William de Lancastre an issue of three daughters, others have made Helwisa, his mother, marry again and produce another family; but the real fact is incontestable, that William de Lancastre died without children, and left as his heirs Peter de Brus and Walter de Lyndesay, his nephews. Peter de Brus was the son of his eldest sister Helwisa, who had married Peter de Brus of Skelton; while Walter de Lyndsay was the son of the younger sister, whose husband was William de Lyndsay of Scotland.

The barony of Kendal, which was thus divided, has never since been reunited; that portion of it which was allotted to the de Lyndsay family, and which included Windermere Lake, eventually came to be known as the Richmond Fee; while the part which fell to the share of the de Brus family was lately subdivided into what was afterwards known as the Marquis Fee and the Lumley Fee.

The marriage of the ladies of the de Lancastre family with the Scottish nobility is not a little remarkable, and was continued during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\*

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\* Women were often to be seen on battlefields in mediæval times. King Edward I. of England used, it is said, to summon the ladies as well as the earls and barons of his kingdom to attend him in war. In 1291 he called upon the ladies of Cumberland and Westmorland to meet him at Noreham near the Scottish border provided with

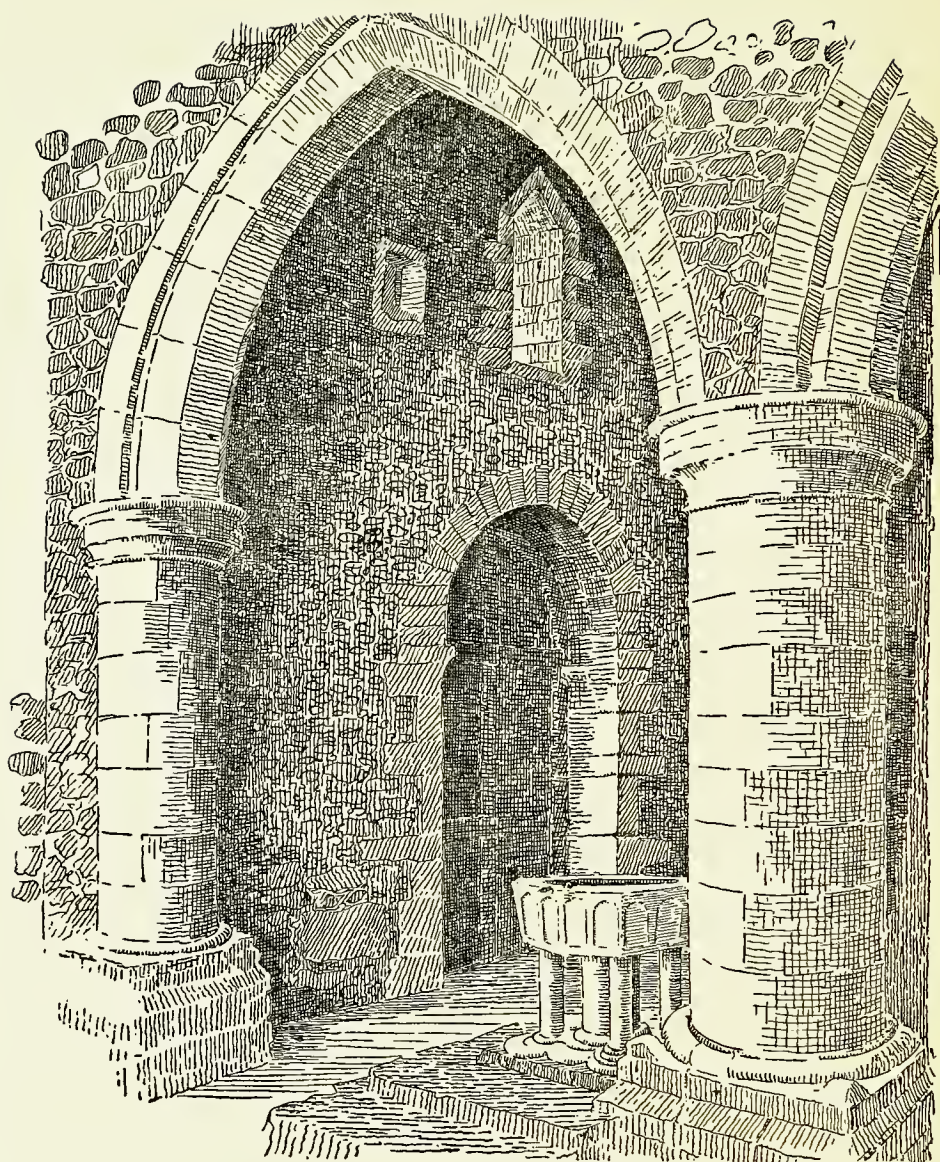


These alliances, generally with the most notable families of the day, show the importance of the de Lancastre family and their possessions ; marriage, however, in the Middle Ages was often not a voluntary affair, but a family or political intrigue, in which love played but a small part. Thus the guardianship of heirs and heiresses was not considered below the dignity of the king, and the larger their estate the more precious prize were they ; youth was no obstacle to marriage, and if it was thought opportune the heir or heiress were often given in their childhood to the highest bidder. On looking into mediæval history there are many instances of such marriages, nor do they seem to have been a failure, for we mostly find these lords and ladies living to a good old age and the parents of a numerous progeny. The chivalry towards women, which was so marked a feature of the mediæval knight, may partly account for this.

The Lyndesay, Lindesey, or Lyndesaia family (when spelling was not considered a fine art, and surnames had not come into vogue, there was a great diversity in the spelling of names), who thus became possessed of the half barony of Kendal, which included Windermere, were of ancient Scottish lineage and lords of Lamberton in Berwickshire. From a charter made in June, 1335, by

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horses and accoutred with arms (the consequence of which summons it is believed Scotland will never forget, says a chronicler). The list of the ladies of Scotland who at that time swore allegiance to the King of England, of which the original is preserved at the Tower of London, contains over a score of well-known Scottish names.  
(H. GRAHAM.)



LATE NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

William de Coucy (the heir of this branch of the family through his mother Christiana de Lyndesay), it appears that the Lyndesey estates included "tota baronia de Lyndeseye infra Villam Berewic (within the town of Berwick)," half of Westerkirk in Roxburghshire, Skirlung in Peebles, Durisdeer in Dumfries, besides church patronage, all of which belonged Christiana de Lyndesey, mother of the said William de Coucy.

Of William de Lyndesay, who had married the great coheiress of the de Lancastres, Alicia de Lancastre, the historian of the de Lindsay family,\* writes :—"There was much intercourse in those days between the sister countries England and Scotland," and quotes as appropriate to the relation then existing a verse by Albert Græme :—

It was an English Lady bright,  
The sun shines fair on Carlisle's walls,  
And she would marry a Scottish knight,  
For love will still be lord of all.

William de Lyndesey afterwards became Chancellor of Scotland, and as such witnessed a charter to the Knights Templars in 1231. He was succeeded by his son Walter, born in 1230, who at 16 years of age also succeeded his uncle William de Lancaster. Although records of his connection with our district are scanty, it is evident from the inquisition held after his death that he maintained a close interest in it, and moreover made it the site of his principal residence. His inquisition post

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\* *Lives of the Lindsays*, by Lord Lindsay.



mortem was held in the 56th year of Henry III. (1272) in the County Court of Westmoreland before the king's escheator,\* who had jurisdiction over the northern counties. "Walter de Lyndesay died on the Commemoration of All Souls last (October 31st, 1272), aged 42 years. William his son, aged 21 at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist last, is his heir, who five years ago (at the age of 16) on Whitsunday contracted marriage with Ada, daughter of John Balleolo (Balliol), with his father's consent."

He possessed (inter alia) a moiety of his uncle William de Lancastre's lands, except the dower of Agnes his wife; a lake called Wynandremere, containing an island with a mansion (mansio=manor house) worth, with the fishery, 40s.; a moiety of Kirkeby Kendale with a moiety of the mills there; Applethwaite hamlet; fisheries in the Kent, out of which 10 marks yearly ought to be rendered to the hermit brethren of the island of St. Mary, Wynandremere, for ever by charter of the said Walter; 50s. to Patrick de Man by charter of William de Lonceastre; Troutebecke forest with a park, &c.

From the above it is apparent that Walter de Lyndsay made the large island on Windermere the site of his residence in this district; the word mansio applied to a house indicated a manor house, and in a later inquisition the island is spoken of as the caput or headquarters of the manor. This island, the largest on Windermere, nowadays generally known by the polyglot title of Belle Isle,

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\* An escheator was the person appointed by the king to inquire and act on the death of a tenant-in-chief as to his lands, heirs, &c.





was in the thirteenth century, and for a long while after, known as the "Holme." No remains of the old manor house of the de Lyndsays can be found at the present day. It is supposed that it stood considerably to the north of the present round house, in the broadest part of the island; it is nowhere called a castle, and it is unlikely that it was ever more than a mediæval manor house; it was probably built when the barony of Kendal was divided so as to form the central residence for the half of the barony which fell to the de Lyndsays, while Kendal Castle and the other moiety went to the family of de Brus. No doubt the site was chosen on account of its great security from marauders of all kinds, and thus it was considered unnecessary to erect a fortified castle as at Kendal, where the caput of the other half of the barony was strongly entrenched.\*

In later years, in the time of the Commonwealth, the mansion on the island is reported to have stood a seige.† If the same house as that of Walter de Lyndsay, it must have been in some measure adapted for defence. Whether it was the object of earlier sieges, and by whom, it is impossible to ascertain, but it is certain that for some time after the de Lyndsays it continued as the caput of the manor, and as such the residence of the lord.

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\* All the ancient manor houses in the north of England appear to have been formed, not so much for ornament or even utility, as for defence against the Scottish invasions. The largest houses had areas or yards strongly walled about with turrets and battlements within which they shut up their cattle, as they had notice given, by the firing of beacons and other intelligence (Burn's *Westmorland*).

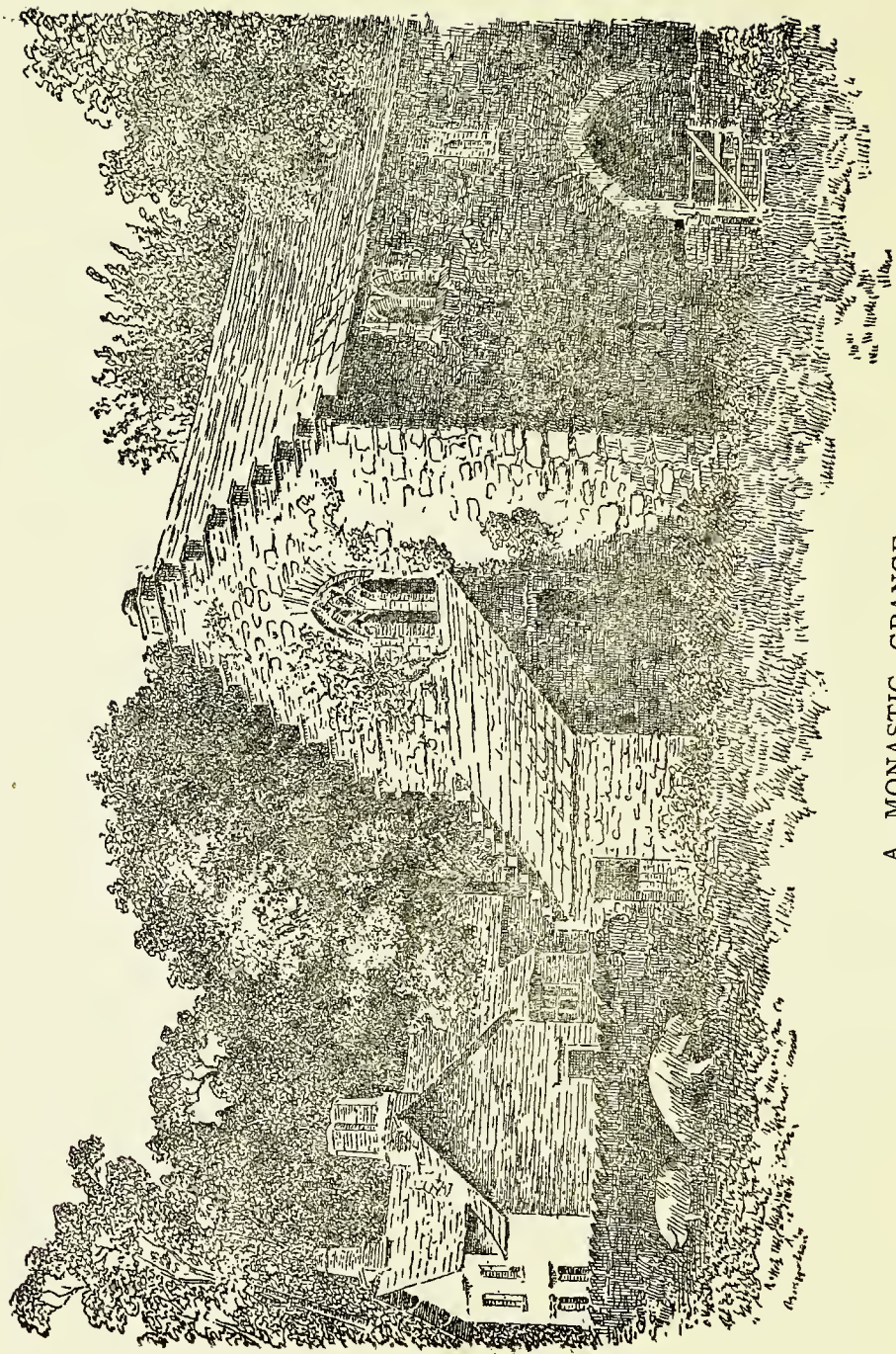
No manor was complete without a chapel. Walter de Lyndesay therefore built and endowed the chapel of "St. Marie Holme within the Water Wynandermere," confirming by charter to the "hermit brethren" living there certain rents and privileges (see later).

Walter de Lyndsay, lord of the manor of Windermere, with his island residence in the lake, was no stay at home ; indeed, one of the most remarkable features of the feudal nobility was their restless activity, a characteristic which found its expression in the crusades, and in the constant disputes between the barons and the Crown. Although he held an English barony, Walter de Lyndsay appears to have retained his Scotch nationality, so much so that we find him as one of the ambassadors of the King of Scots to Henry III. of England. The following letter is taken from the Book of Ancient Correspondence in the Record Office, in which many original letters of great value are kept. Written in Latin, on a square of parchment, the first part of the letter is quite distinct, but towards the end so torn as to be almost indecipherable ; over 600 years old, it is interesting as a contemporary document, and throws a light on the

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† The following is a description of the island house in the time of the Commonwealth (1649), authentic or imaginary :—"In the centre of the island was an antique Gothic house flanked with four strong towers ; from several apertures in these projected small pieces of artillery called chamber pieces ; turf ramparts had recently been thrown up round the mansion on which were canon of different sizes" (AGNES STRICKLAND). This house, known as Holme House, was demolished in 1777 to make room for the present round house.





A MONASTIC GRANGE.  
(HAWKSHEAD HALL, NEAR WINDERMERE.)



relations between England and Scotland :—" To the most excellent Prince Henry by the grace of God illustrious king of all England Lord of Ireland Duke of Aquitaine, Nicholas by divine permission Abbot of Jedburgh, Guy of Balliol, Walter de Lyndsay\* John de Dundemore ambassadors to the King of Scots greeting and duty ready with the utmost devotion for service. Know your Highness that Tuesday in the Octave of the Ascension of our Lord at Huntingdon we received your letters of safe conduct sent to us up to Whitsuntide to come. But seeing that in so short a space we could hardly reach your lordships reverence we humbly and devoutly pray your royal excellency that you would be pleased to grant us other letters for a longer time in order that we may be enabled to lay before your magnificence those things which were enjoined us by our master the King of Scots your son† and return thereafter safe and sound. We beg you will appoint us a time and place when it is your will for us to come into your presence."

Walter de Lyndsay died in 1272, and was succeeded by his son William.

In those troublesome times the life of a knight was no peaceful one, to which that of Sir William

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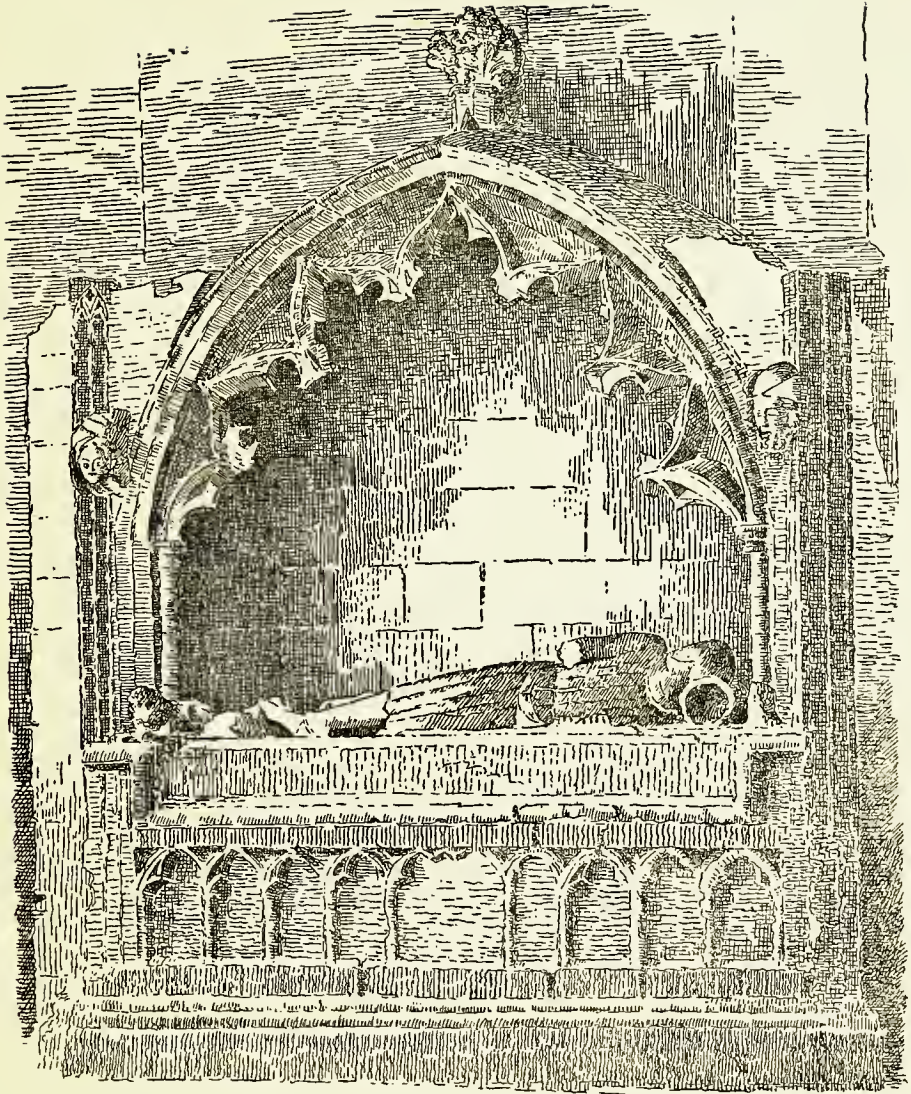
\* David de Lyndsay was living in 6 Henry III. (1222), and was kinsman to Alexander, King of Scots.

† Alexander, King of Scots, was son-in-law not son of Henry III., having married his daughter Margaret. He died in 1286, and leaving no heirs, John Baliol was elected king to the exclusion of Robert le Brus or Bruce. The descendants of the latter afterwards succeeded in getting possession of the throne.

was no exception. He was constantly engaged in the Border warfare of Edward I., and eleven years after his father's death, when in his 32nd year, he was slain in battle against Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, A.D. 1283. With a band of 10 horsemen and 80 Westmorland foot soldiers he had joined the army which was occupying Anglesey in Wales, an unique instance of northern foot brought into Wales, and for which they received pay as not liable to serve out of their own country. Roger de Clifford, husband of Isabella, the heiress of Brougham, served with five lances; the whole army, consisting of 100 horse and 2000 foot, crossed the Menai Straits by a bridge of boats. In the passage over they were attacked by Llewellyn, and almost annihilated. The manner of Sir William de Lyndesay's death is given in the footnote,\* in the not very intelligible Norman-French of the day. The disaster in which he lost his life, a very common one in mediæval times, was caused by an army crowding too hastily over a narrow bridge, and, on their repulse by the enemy, falling back on those behind, causing panic, loss of life, and defeat. In this way Sir William de Lyndsay, with many other

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\* Le roi se moua en grand ost Gallis qui des barges en fit faire pounte outre un bras de mer deuer Snaudown pur ceo qu les estroitiz du boys et mountaignes estoient mauues autre part a passer, lez que les Galoys avoient purpris les gens le roy pristrent le dit passage follement deuant qe tout le array du passage fust adresse qe furent recoillez des Galoys qe del autre part estoient enbussez en batail, ou noyerent Roger de Clifford William de Lindezey John le Fitz Robert, Lucas de Towny, et plusours autres perent au presser de lour recoiller (*Scala Chronica*).



TOMB OF A KNIGHT.  
(13TH CENTURY.)



knights, was overwhelmed and drowned. He was in his thirty-second year, and left by his wife, Ada de Balliol, an only child and heiress, Christiana or Christina.

On his death the usual inquisition post mortem was held. It is of great value as giving an insight into the feudal state of Windermere and the neighbourhood at the close of the thirteenth century.

The inquisition was taken before the escheator beyond Trent on Saturday after the Epiphany in the tenth year of Edward I., 1282 ; according to the oath of the jurors, it was found that the possessions late of William de Lyndsay included Gresmer (Grasmere), 13 acres of land in demesne, 11 acres of waste land,\* a free tenant holding four acres ; a rent of 7s. 8d. for herbage, &c., in the forest ; a fulling mill ; a brewery, the advowson of a chapel ; and a fishery.

*Langden* (Langdale).—15 cottars holding 136 acres of land, six tenants holding  $28\frac{1}{2}$  acres of waste land, a rent of 50s. for herbage in the forest, a water mill, and a fishery called Routhmere.

*Trutebeck Forest* and another forest.—Herbage and pannage there worth £35 16s. 4d. by the year.

*Appilthwayt*.—54 farmers holding 510 acres of land rendering £17 6s., 124 acres of waste land

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\* The portion of waste or forest land cleared and made fit for pasturage was known as assartum—"verily when that the pleasant forests or thick bushie places meet for the secret feeding of the wilde beasts be cut down and plucked up by the roots and the same ground be made a plain and turned in to arable land this by lawe of the forest is properly said to be an assart of the forest or land assarted.



rendering nothing, three free tenants rendering 2s. 1½d., a brewery, a fishery, and herbage and pannage.

*Winandermer*.—The manor within the precincts is not extended (*i.e.*, acreage and rental not set out), because it takes back more than it renders, and there is the advowson of a chapel there. Christiana, mother of the said William, was dowered of all the lands of Trutebeck, Appilthwayt, and Windermere, but afterwards demised the said dower to her son William for life.

*Skaundel* (Scandale) forest.—Herbage and pannage worth £17 11s. 8d.

*Le Liht* (Lyth) and Crosthwait.—31 tenants holding 268 acres of land rendering £6 5s. 5d. yearly, 33 acres of waste land, free tenants worth 3s., one cottar, a water mill rent 100s., a brewery, pannage, and goldewiht.

*Kirkeby Kendale*.—A moiety held to farm by Roger de Croft for £4, a mill rental 26s. 8d., and a garden.

*Brachlowk alias Brachlow*.—10 acres of land, which used to render 53s., but is now in the hand of the lord.

*Helsington*.—24 acres, rental 13s. 4d.

*River Kent*.—A moiety of the fishing, which used to render 53s., but is now in the hand of the lord.

*Hoton in Haya*\* (Hutton in the Hay).—13 tenants holding 252½ acres of land and rendening

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\* Haya or haia means a hedge ; French, haie ; old high German, haga.

£8 6s. 4d yearly, 60 acres of waste land, one acre of meadow, four cottars, a mill rendering 46s., a brewery, herbage in the forest, and a park worth 53s.

FREE TENANTS :—

*Preston Hoton and Holme.*—Held by Gilbert de Corwen.

*Quintenal and Godwinscales.*—Held by Ralph de Berburn, rendering 2d. yearly.

*Bananisdal.*—A moiety held by Roger de Lancastre, rendering £2.

*Sategill.*—A slate quarry held by Nicholas de Leyburn, rendering 1d.

*Le Holmes.*—Held by Roger the Marshall, rendering 2d.

*Quinfel.*—A moiety held by Matthew de Redman, rental 8s. 2d.

*Winsterthwayt.*—Held by Thomas le Leche,\* rent one pound of cummin.

*Sleddal.*—Held by the heirs of Roland de Renegill, rental 1d.

*Thrimby.*—Held by Ralph de Haverington and Ralph de Patton, rental 66s. 8d.

*Sockebred.*—Held by William de Strikeland, rental 2s. 6d.

*Barton and Witherslack.*—Held by Roger de Lancastre, rendering one sore (young) sparrowhawk and 1d.

*Berburn.*—Held by Roger de Lasceles, rent

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\* Query, the doctor ?

30s. 8d., which is assigned to Phillip the Chaplain for life.

*Middleton*.—Held by Gilbert de Milneburn, rent 44s.

*Kirkby Lon(sdale)*.—Held by Matthew the Redman, 6s. 8d.

*Levens and Selsate*.—Held by the same.

*Bethum*.—Held by Robert de Bethum, rent 48s.

*Hoton Ruf*\* (Hutton Roof).—Held by the heirs of Hoton Ruf, rent 16s.

*Stainton*.—Held by the heirs of Eva Woodacre, rent 4d.

*Heversham, Grarig, and Morland*.—Held by William de Windesower, rent 15s. 10d.

*Little Langden* (Langdale).—Held by Allan de Peniton.

*Unspecified*.—40s. of waste land held by Ralph de Berburn, rent 6d.

William de Lyndsay held all the above lands in Westmoreland and Lancaster of the king in chief by service of 12 knights' fees.† He also held certain lands in Furness (the manor or vill of Ulverston), given for life to Roger de Lancastre.

Christiana, his daughter, aged 16 at the Annunciation (11 Edward I., 1283), is his heir.

A close inspection of this inquisition would throw a light on the system of land tenure in our district

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\* Described in the inquisition post mortem of Walter de Lyndsay as Hoton Roffe in the hay of Kirkby Kendale, with its part of the same name.

† A knight's fee was recorded as 640 acres of land, therefore 12 knights' fees equalled 7680 acres.

in the thirteenth century. The subject is one on which volumes have been written ; it is impossible to give more than the briefest glance at it here, but it is well worth the study of those who would see the gradual evolution of the modern tenure of land, as to which there seems no finality at the present time. The essence of the feudal system was military service due from the lowest ranks to the higher in regular order to the king himself. It originated in gifts of land made by the king to his adherents on condition that they and their heirs should render military service to the Crown ; thus, in case of war, the king summoned the knights and barons to appear in the field at a certain time with a certain military retinue, and these in their turn called on those in the rank next below them holding land under them, and so on down to the lowest rank until a great army could very speedily be put into the field. Although this system lasted throughout the Middle Ages, it contained from the beginning the germ by which the feudal system was ultimately destroyed. The feudal chiefs, thus enabled and encouraged to raise great bands of armed dependents, soon perceived that by union among themselves they were able to set the Crown at defiance. Ultimately, however, by disastrously quarrelling with each other, it was easy for the king and people to strike a blow from which they never recovered.

To make the system of land tenure clearer, a few notes on the above inquisition may not be out of place. Take "Gresmer" as an example. Thirteen



acres were held in demesne—that is, the lord kept them in his own hand, and in which the tenants were allowed certain privileges ; 15 tenants held 133 acres of land, or about nine acres each. This system of cultivation was that which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, and is usually known as the common field system—that is, the manor or township consisted of unenclosed and unfenced lands cultivated by the tenants in common. The open arable fields formed a marked feature in the economy of the mediæval manor ; there were few farms in the modern acceptation of the word ; the farmers lived together in villages, having their holdings in scattered strips in the said open fields. These common or arable fields usually consisted of three in a suite, generally sub-divided into smaller fields called shots or furlongs ; these again were cut up into narrow strips containing an acre or half an acre, and separated from each other by a foot or so of unploughed land, called a balk. These arable fields were subjected to a uniform tillage in triennial succession of fallow, wheat, or rye, and spring crops as barley, oats, beans, and peas. On the outskirts of the arable land where the soil was adapted for pasturage, or in low lying districts near a river, some few pasturages, called hams or ings, were laid out for milking cattle, or other stock requiring superior pasture in summer ; while beyond lay the lord's waste, left in its natural state as a common pasturage for the ordinary stock, where the tenants enjoyed rights of taking timber and turf for the repair of their houses and for fuel.

The high prices due to long wars eventually forced on the country a more economic system of husbandry, and resulted in the many enclosure acts which were passed from the time of Queen Anne onwards.

It is somewhat difficult to draw a distinct line between the different classes of tenants. The "cottars" holding was small, and consisted of a cottage and four or five acres in the arable fields; they owed certain obligations to the lord, and usually had to work one day a week on his domains; they also had to assist in the lord's sowing and sheep shearing, and to supply him with a certain amount of eggs and poultry. As their holdings were small, they were also able to work on the larger holdings of their neighbours, and thus, in fact, filled the part of modern agricultural labourers.

The "villains" at the time of the Domesday Book (1056) formed the largest part of the agricultural population, and in the early feudal times appear to have been regarded as little better than serfs or slaves working at the will of the lord. By the end of the thirteenth century (the date of this inquisition, 1282) their position had become much improved, so much so that the word villain is not included in the inquisition, but the class is referred to as tenants. At this date they possessed a messuage with toft and croft (cottage) in the village; their position much resembled that of the cottars, and indeed the one class was often indetical with the other. They too held a certain proportion of the strips in the arable fields belonging to the

village, and owed certain services to the lord, such as ploughing for him in his demesne and carrying out the principal work of the manor. When he had discharged these duties the villain was able to do the work on his own holding, and to pay the rent which his lord exacted in money or kind. He could not leave the manor, and his goods and chattels were considered the property of the lord. He was not, however, altogether at the mercy of the lord, but was ruled in accordance with the customs of the manor defined by the tenants themselves.

The large class of "free tenants" referred to in the inquisition were under somewhat different conditions. Their chief distinction from the lower class of tenants was that their rents were fixed whether in money or services, and they could alienate the land and quit the manor if they wished. The fulling mill\* was, like the corn mill, an invariable concomitant of the manor, and both were the property of the lord. To the fulling mill the tenants were obliged to carry the cloth they had spun and woven in their homesteads in order to have it cleaned and dressed. No other fulling mill could be erected without the leave of the lord. Up to 1335 the fulling mill at Grasmere appears to

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\* Fulling mills were sometimes called walk mills, because in early times the milling of the cloth was done by the feet of men, and these mills may thus have had their names from their employment. The famous Kendal green colour was produced by boiling the cloth first in a solution made from the yellow flower of the broom, and then, by mixing it with a blue solution, the green colour was produced (Nicholson's *Westmorland*).

have been the only one in the de Lyndesay half of the barony of Kendal. Not long after this date the development of the woollen trade, to which Kendal and the North of England owed many years of prosperity, took place, when fulling mills sprang up, presumably with the consent or at the instigation of the lord, all over the district.

The brewery was also in the lord's hands, who appointed officials to regulate its transactions to see that the price was not excessive, and that false measures were not used. Sometimes the lord's rights were sublet, and then known as "brewe farme." "Knavish" brewers were liable to be condemned to the tumbrel or dung cart.

A water mill is mentioned in the inquisition. The tenants were compelled to take their corn to be ground at the lord's manorial mill, which was erected for that express purpose. Moreover, they were obliged to keep it in repair. The hand mill was sometimes used by the tenants, but was generally suppressed by the lord when possible, as he counted the farm or profit of the mill one of his most valuable returns.

The fishing rights of the lord in lakes and rivers were jealously guarded, and local mediæval records teem with fishery disputes.

"Pannage" and "herbage" were both important privileges; pannage was the feeding of swine in the forest in autumn upon acorns and beech mast. Here the lord of the manor was subject to the rights of the king, as no one might feed pigs in his own wood before those of the king were agisted.





Courts were held in the autumn fining those who left their swine loose in the forest, and fines were levied on those who carried off the acorns and beech mast. In days when neither cabbages nor turnips nor similar vegetables were grown to sustain the cattle through the long winter months, and when consequently pigs alone could be fed cheaply throughout the year, immense quantities of swine were kept to supplement the winter food, which otherwise consisted largely of the flesh of the deer and cattle salted down in the autumn. The payment for pannage was usually made by the swineherd rendering to the lord of the manor a certain proportion of the hogs agisted (sometimes every tenth pig).

Rights of herbage for cattle and sheep were also strictly regulated.\* In some places sheep and goats were not regarded with favour—*e.g.*, "Sheepe and goates are most pernicious cattle intolerable in a forest and make a far greater show than the King's game." But on the wild fells of Westmorland they were always valuable for supplying wool for the local woollen industry. Herbage and agistment of cattle were usual in all parts of the country, and like other privileges were regulated by the manorial court.

"Goldwether," mentioned in the inquisition as payable by the tenants in Grasmere, was a payment for the agistment of sheep; while "goldwite" is the old Anglo-Saxon for a payment or fine in

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\* Payment for these were sometimes called forest silver.

money—*e.g.*, "He shall be in geldwit of half a bushel of barlie."

Routhmer appears to be identical with Rydal Lake, for in the grant of Rydal to Roger de Lancastre by Margaret de Ros (1270-80) the boundaries are described as "*Sequendo Routha, ascendendo usque in Routhmer, et sic sequendo Routhmer usque ex opposito de Brokestay.*" In the partition of the barony of Kendal, after the death of William de Lancastre III., a considerable amount of confusion and jealousy seems to have arisen as to the allotment of the different manors, while the occurrence of the same names in different fees would seem to indicate that alterations and exchanges must have been made at different dates to suit the wishes and conveniences of one or other of the parties; thus Roger de Lancastre, half brother of William de Lancastre III., in addition to the grant by Margaret de Ros, had also a deed from William de Lyndesay and Roger de Lancastre concerning what should be taken by Roger "for goods found by eschape in the forest of Rydal belonging to the tenants of William de Lyndesay, and also concerning an enclosure to be made by William de Lyndesay adjoining upon Rydal Park."\*

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\* Sir Daniel Fleming, in his description of Westmorland in 1671, says "The manor of Loughrigg and Rydal did anciently belong to William de Lancastre, Baron of Kendal, from whom it came by descent to Margaret de Brus (his neice), who married Robert de Ros of Werke in Northumberland (second son of Robert de Ros of Hamlake or Helmsley in Yorkshire), who granted the same in the beginning of Edward I.'s reign to Sir John de Lancaster, knight, her

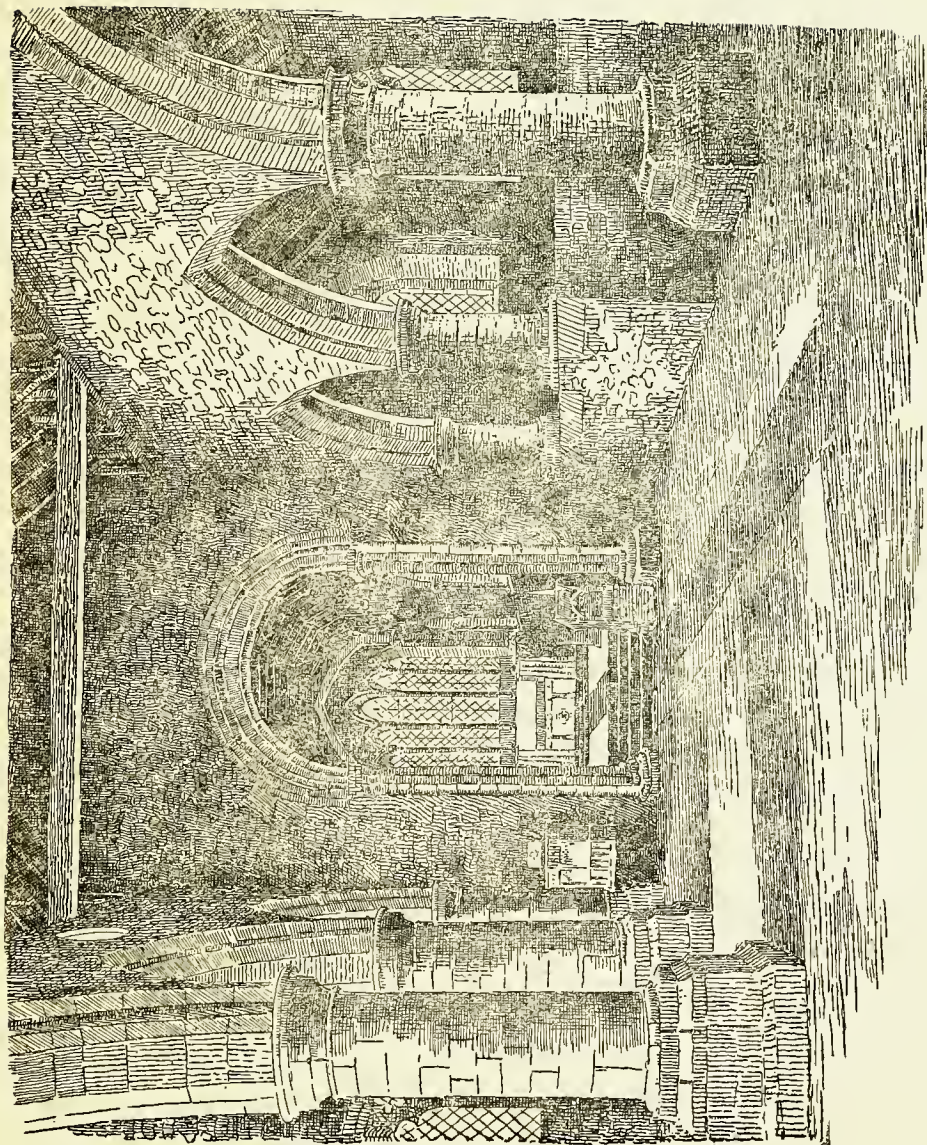


Thus we see that the general tenure of land in the North of England, as elsewhere during the thirteenth century, was military, and lands were held by "homage, fealty, and cornage." The latter included the right of wardship and marriage, and the cornage tenants of the North were bound to be in "the most defensive array for the wars, and to be ready to serve the lord of the manor on horse and foot, and when the king's army passed into Scotland they had the post of honour in the vanguard and on the return in the rearguard, and for good reason, because they best knew the passes and defiles and the way and manner of the enemies attacking and retreating" (Burn). The chief enemy were of course the Scots, and thus throughout the reign of Henry III. and the three Edwards the constant Border warfare was the matter that chiefly affected local history. Whether the Scots ever penetrated into Windermere valleys, and where, is uncertain, but everything points to the fact that excursions and alarms from Scotland were frequent, while the inhabitants must have lived in a constant

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kinsman, in whose issue it continued until Sir John de Lancastre (as well of Howgill Castle as of this manor) married Isabel, one of his four daughters and coheirs in the time of Henry IV. unto Sir Thomas le Fleming of Coningstone in Lancashire, knight, by which marriage this manor came from the Lancasters unto the Flemings, in whose issue male it has ever since continued. King Edward first confirmed the grant of this under the great seal of England to Sir Roger de Lancastre aforesaid with free chase therein, it being anciently a forest with common of pasturage for him and his tenants in Grasmere with all kinds of cattle. Rydal Park was replenished with deer until the great grandfather of the present owner caused all the deer to be killed.





A TWELFTH CENTURY CHURCH.

state of preparedness against such attacks. As no place could be more secure than the islands of Windermere, it is not surprising that the de Lyndesays should have selected the great island as their chief residence in this district, and as the "caput" of their half of the barony of Kendal.

In addition to these Westmorland domains the de Lyndesays, as representatives of the de Lancastres, also held the manor of Ulverston. This was granted by Alicia and William de Lyndesay to Roger de Lancastre for his life. On his death in 1292 it reverted to the de Lyndesay family. The manor of Moreholme, of which the caput or principal seat was Morhull Castle, and which included the district of Whittington, Warton, Carnforth, Ashton, and Wyresdale, was also the property of the de Lyndesays, and represented their share of the Lancashire estates which had belonged to William de Lancastre and his predecessors.\*

Many of the lands were held by what was known as petty (petit) sergeanty or the rendering as an acknowledgment of some more or less valuable article, many of which show the love of the picturesque so characteristic of the thirteenth century—*e.g.*, three arrows with an eagle's feathers and gold thread, a gown of grey fur of seven ferrets, a cap of peacock's feathers, a garland of roses (de Ros), a clove gilly flower, a pair of gilt spurs, a pair of buckskin gloves lined with miniver, a bunch

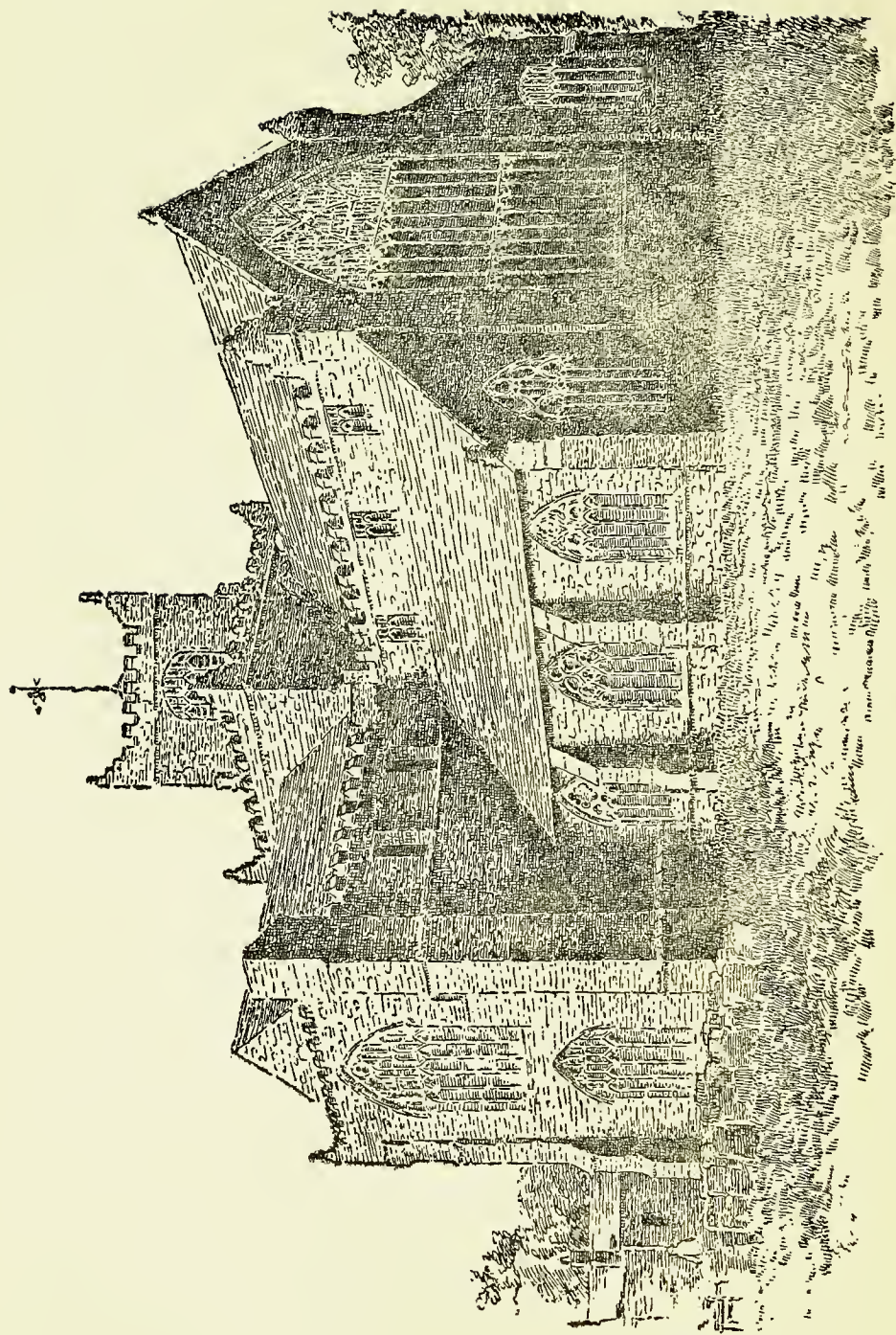
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\* The site of Moreholme Castle is on the Dockacres farm in Warton, in the angle formed by the main road and the roads from Warton to Borwick and from Burton to Over Kellet and Carnforth.

of ginger, three dice, a wooden crossbow, a quiver and thirteen barbed arrows, two needles, a ploughshare, &c. A hound, a brachet, a palfrey, or a sparrowhawk were generally paid by the tenants in chief to the king ; sparrowhawks were especially of great value, and great care was taken to capture and preserve them for falconry (for instance, in 1287 a charge of 6d. was made for looking for two sparrowhawks and two muskes in the trees, and 2s. was paid for sending them to the lord with a piece of canvas to cover them). Sometimes the service tenure was even more personal. A manor was held of the king on condition that the owner should "hold the King's head when he passed to Calais, and when by the workings of the sea the King should be compelled to vomit" ; and again, a virgate of land was held of the king in chief by service of a daily Lord's Prayer for the souls of the kings of England.

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CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH

(Founded in 1188 by William Mareshall, guardian of Helwisa de Lancastre). Stained glass from here now in Windermere Church.



## II.

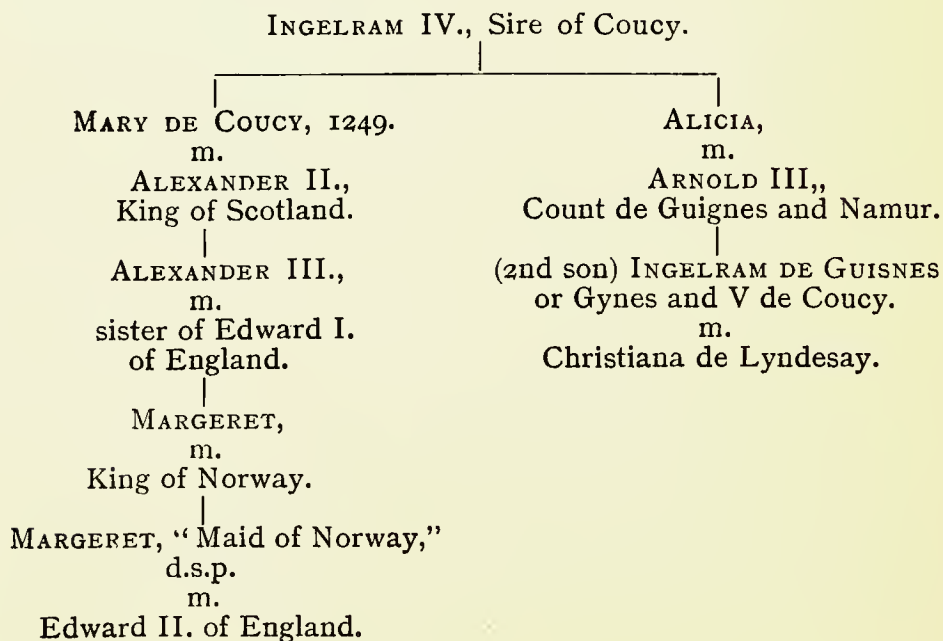
WILLIAM de Lyndesay died in 1282, the 11th year of Edward I., on Friday after the feast of St. Dunstan. In the same year, a writ "de ætate heredis," concerning the age of the heir of William de Lyndesay, was issued, when it was found that his daughter Christiana was his heir, aged 16 on the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, in the 11th year of Edward I.

Ada de Baliol, the wife of William and the mother of Christiana de Lyndesay, was the daughter of John Baliol, lord of Galloway, and Devorgilla his wife, the latter famous for her great talents and philanthropy, and well known as the founder of Baliol College, Oxford. Ada was thus sister of the unfortunate John Baliol, set on the throne of Scotland by Edward I., and supported by him only so long as he did his will. She afterwards became co-heiress to her nephew Edward Baliol, who spent his life sometimes on and sometimes off the throne, according as fortune favoured him and his adherents.

With the death of William de Lyndesay the male line of that branch of the family failed, when Christiana became the representative of the elder branch of the Lyndesays as well as of the house of Baliol, and thus of the ancient Celtic dynasty of Scotland, and ancestress in a direct line of Louis XVI., King of France, and the House of Orleans.

At the date of her father's death Christiana was married to Ingelram de Coucy de Gynes, fourth Count de Gynes or Ghisnes and Namur, and fifth sire de Coucy in right of his mother Alice, the heiress of that house, "so illustrious in history and romance." Ingelram had been brought up at the Court of his cousin german, Alexander III., who arranged the marriage between Ingelram and Christiana. As Christiana was also connected with the Royal House of Scotland by blood, the marriage between Ingelram and Christiana would seem a natural enough arrangement; otherwise it proved in after years a source of endless confusion, for the de Coucys, being of the "lineage and jurisdiction of France," were unable to hold property in England.

Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, has the following concerning the de Coucy family :—



"About the latter end of the reign of King John, Ernald, Count of Ghisnes in France, possessing lands in the counties of Kent, Bedford, and Essex of 12 knights' fees, and which were part of the Honour of Bouloin (Boulogne), had a reputation of a baron of this realm (England), which lands, in respect of his adherence to the rebellious barons of that age, were seized in the king's hands. On the death of King John he made his peace with Henry III., and got back his lands. He left issue Baldwin, his son and heir, who, paying his relief, had livery (delivery) to him of his lands.

There was also Robert de Gynes, who held property in Northampton and elsewhere.

We next come to Ingelram de Gynes, the first of that Christian name. I find he was also called Ingleram de Cusci (Coucy), but how related to those before mentioned I cannot say. This Ingelram was a noble baron of France, and had a daughter called Mary wedded to Alexander, King of Scotland. To this Ingleram succeeded another Ingelram (his son?) who having married Christiana, daughter and heir to William de Lyndesay (one of the heirs also to William de Lancastre), and doing his fealty for lands of her inheritance in 11 Edward I., 1282-3, had livery of them, among which was the manor of Wyresdale in County Lancastre, whereupon William, the son of Walter de Lyndesay, in consideration of £120, quit claimed to them all his rights to the manor of Wytington in County Lancastre." \*

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\* Close Rolls, 13 Edward I., in dorso.

In 1296 (24 Edward I.), with other barons of the realm, he had summons to Parliament, and served there until 1322 (15 Edward II.).

The bombastic motto of the sires of Couci, peers of France, ran

Je ne suis Roy ni Duc,  
Prince ne compte aussi,  
Je suis le sire de Coucy.

There are no records available to show whether Ingelram and Christiana made Windermere their home, but such evidence as we have appears to indicate that though they retained a close interest in their northern estates, they did not, during the lifetime of Ingelram, occupy the mansion on the island, for in the inquisition held on his death in 1324 (17 Edward II.) it is stated that Ingelram de Gynes held a certain manor or mansio in an island called the Holme in the Lake of Windermere, which said mansio is the capital messuage (*i.e.*, caput or headquarters) of the moiety of the barony of Kendal which he held in right of his wife, but is worth nothing by the year, because it needs much in reprises (repairs). He also held the fishing in the lake, worth 40s. yearly; the hamlet of Applethwaite, with a water mill and a fulling mill; Langdale (Langden) hamlet, rendering 66s., with a mill; Loughrigg hamlet, rent 17s. 1d.; Gressemerie hamlet, rent £4 7s. 2d., a fishery with a mill and the forest there; Trutebeck hamlet, rent £11 8s. 4d.; Hamalsete (Ambleside) hamlet, rent £12 4s. 6d.; and many other places in Westmoreland formerly the possessions of William de Lyndesay (see his



inquisition post mortem), together with the manor of Moureholme in North Lancashire and the manor or vill of Ulverston in Furness.

In addition to his deeds of arms as a knight, Ingelram was also a lover of the chase, and not too particular as to his boundaries, for at the court held at Lancaster at Easter, 1299, before the verderer,\* Ingelram de Gynes, Roger de Croft,† and others of the family were presented for hunting with greyhounds in Wyresdale, and one of the party, Ralph de Bray, for killing a doe with bow and arrows, and carrying it off. They were ordered to appear at the next Forest Pleas, but were admitted bail. The final result of the action does not appear. Probably it arose from the undefined state of Ingelram's manor, and the king's forest of Wyresdale.

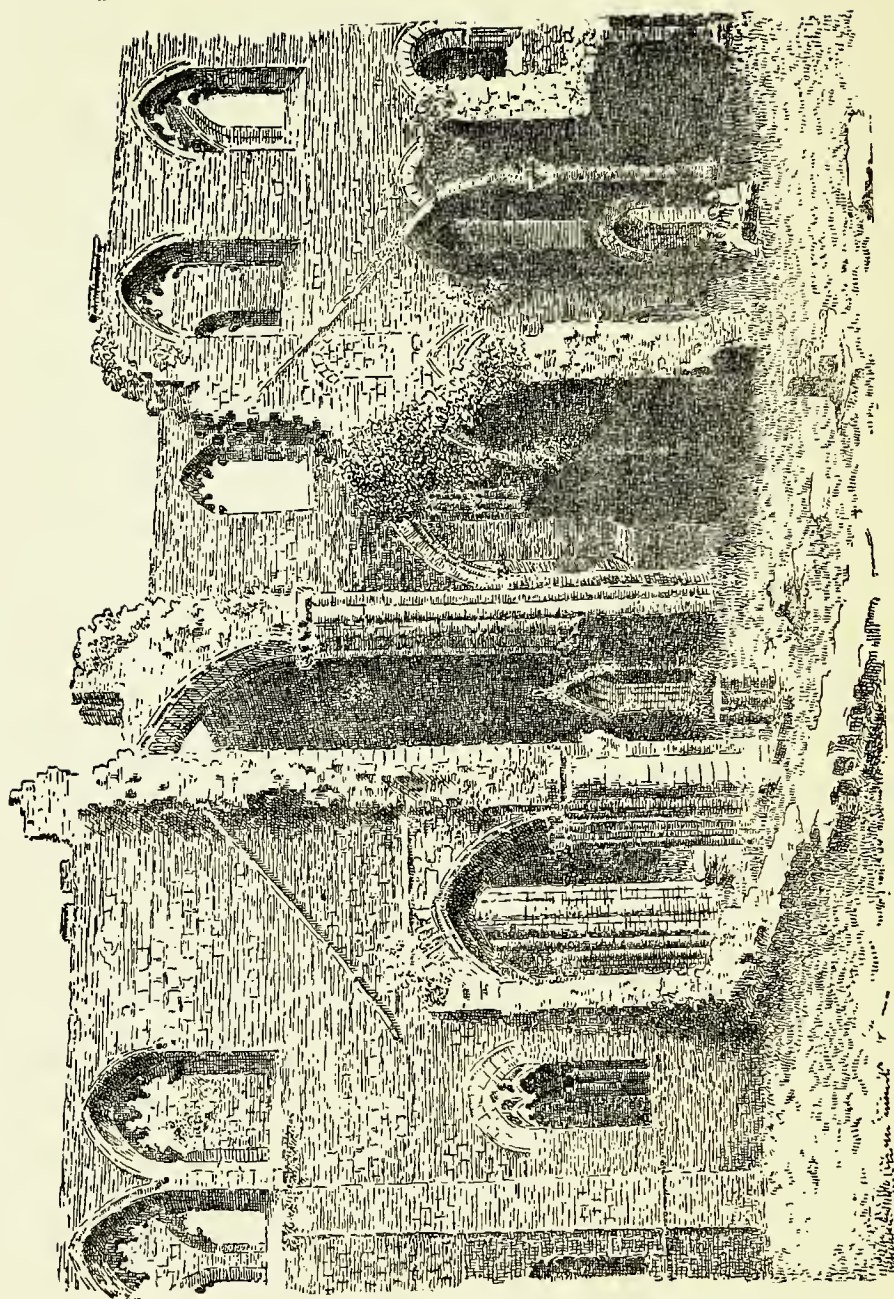
In 1292 Ingelram was a witness with many other North Country knights to the grant made by Adam de Barwyk to the abbey of Furness, which deed was "actum and datum" in the abbey itself, where the donor and the witnesses must have been present in person.

Another proof of the connection between Ingelram de Gynes and Christiana with the district of Furness is an ancient charter granting certain privileges to the people of Ulverston, especially that they should be free from all the duties of

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\* The verderers were the forest officers responsible to the Crown. They were usually knights, and it was their duty to receive and enrol all attachments for vert and venis on trespass.

† He was coroner for Furness.



THE TRANSEPTS OF FURNESS ABBEY.

“camerarius”—*i.e.*, responsibility for collecting the lord's dues in the district. In this document the inhabitants are addressed as “all our burgesses of the town of Ulverston.” Witnesses, John de Cornwall, knight, William de Asmunderlawe (Osmotherly), and others.

In 1292 a quo warranto was issued against Ingelram and Christiana by the king in respect of rights claimed by them in Kendal barony as successors of William de Lancastre. Apparently they were able to make good their claim.\*

The two chaplains living on the island of St. Mary Holme in Windermere received the support of Christiana and Ingelram, for, as we find in a later inquisition, if the lands which had been devoted to the maintenance of the chaplains by the charter of Watter de Lyndesay did not produce sufficient, then Ingelram and his wife were accustomed to deliver to the chaplain 10 marks “out of their coffers or elsewhere by suitable assignment within the lordship of Kirkeby Kendale out of pure conscience and their mere goodwill” (from an inquisition taken at Kirkby Kendal in 1354).

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\* At the appropriation of Kendal Church to the abbey of York by Ivo de Taillebois the patronage of Windermere was excepted. In the reign of Edward III. it was in Ingelram de Gynes and his wife, subject to a pension of 33s. 4d. payable to the said abbey. It was subsequently vested in Joanna de Coupland, as by an inquisition dated 49 Edward III. (1376) it was found she held by grant of the king during her life the advowson of Wynandermer, then valued at 100s.; the patronage afterwards reverted and remained in the Crown until 7th Elizabeth. The rectory is an ancient house, which in 1774 was known as the Hall, there being no other gentleman's house in the village (Whellan's *History of Cumberland and Westmorland*).



Ingelram de Coucy died in 1324 (17 Edward II.) leaving his wife Christiana his survivor. According to the Furness Abbey Coucher Book there were sons born of the marriage, William, Ingelram, Baldwin and Robert. Christiana survived her husband ten years; apparently after his death she lived at times in the mansion in the Holme Island on Windermere, for we find a charter issued by her shortly before her death, from Windermere, on the Sunday next after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist, in 7 Edward III., A.D. 1334, to the Burgesses of Ulverston. By this charter she confirmed the former grant of herself and husband; it runs thus: "Let all know that I Christiana de Lindesay have inspected the letters of quitclaim (release) made by the lord Ingelram de Gynes, once my husband, to all my burgesses in the town (villa) of Ulverston in Furness, that they may be free and quit from the duty of being chamberlain in the said town. In my chaste widowhood for myself and my heirs I confirm this release of the aforesaid office to the burgesses for ever. In testimony of which my seal is fixed, with witnesses, Adam de Berdesey (Bardsea), Laurence de Osmonderlawe (Osmotherly), Roger de Staynerleth (Stennerley), Thomas Scale, Nichol de Broughton (1333-4)." Datum apud Wynandermere.

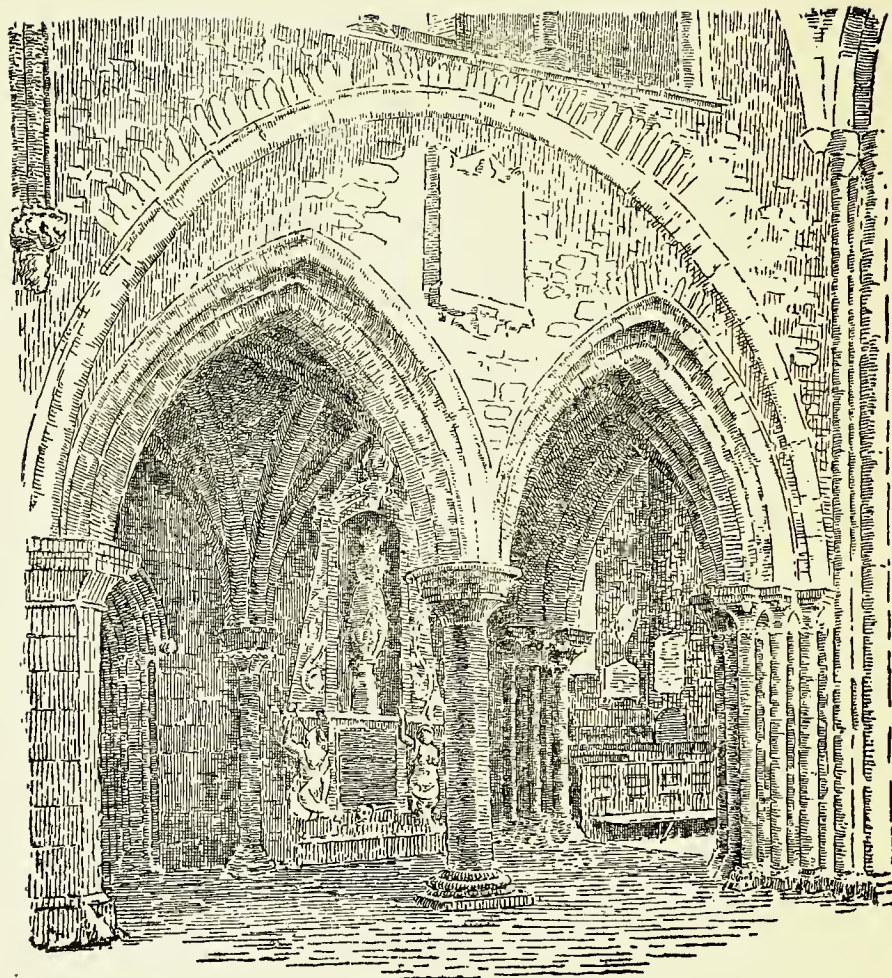
West (*Antiquities of Furness*) remarks on this charter "the tenants or headborough men were frequently charged with collecting the lord's rents at their own expence; the custom remains in some divisions of the Barony of Kendal at this day, and



therefore the exception here granted was a considerable favour in those days."

About the same date an agreement was made in France (in Gallicis) between Christiana and Sir John de Harrington, by which the assize of bread and beer was claimed in their courts over the tenants of Egton and Scathwaite. The assize of bread and beer was an important privilege belonging to the lords of the manor; they held courts in which the price and quality of bread and beer was regulated and all frauds were severely punished; ale tasters were appointed to see that brewers in their districts brewed wholesome beer of proper strength and purity, and that they did not sell it at excessive prices nor use false measures, while a fraudulent baker was liable to be condemned to the pillory. The Abbot of Furness disputed the right of Christiana and Harrington to this jurisdiction in Furness, alleging "that Egton and Scathwaite were not parcels of the mountains of Furness (and were thus the property of the Abbey) and beyond the limits of the town of Ulverston (the possession of the Baron of Kendal) and are of the foundation of our monastery as by a fine (conclusion of a suit) levied in the time of King Henry II., son of the Empress (Matilda), between us and Gilbert Fitz Reinfred and Helwisa his wife, and by charter of the same king concerning the confirmation of the said fine." The Abbot was able to establish his claim, and Christiana and Harrington were nonsuited.

In 4 Edward III. (1331), Christiana obtained



EARLY ENGLISH.

from the king a charter of free warren in Windermere, a grant which probably coincided with her residence in Holme Island ; the grant of free warren requires a word of explanation ; all persons of any degree had a right to hunt wild animals in any unenclosed land outside forest limits, unless such right had been restricted by some special royal grant. The word warren was used to denote the exclusive right of hunting and taking certain beasts (*ferae naturae*), in a particular place, or the land over which such right existed ; thus a grant of free warren to an individual (generally a baron or a monastery), prevented anyone else from entering such lands, to hunt or take anything belonging to the warren without leave of the person to whom the grant had been made, under a penalty of £20 ; none might therefore follow the hunt of a hare or fox, or other vermin on such lands granted, but it was lawful to follow the hunt of the deer, as deer were not beasts of the warren ; lords of the warren could impound greyhounds and nets or snares if those of trespassers.\*

In 1332 we find Christiana, or as she was then called, Domina de Gynes, the Lady of Gynes, living at her manor of Moureholme, in Warton, near Carnforth. From an inquisition held in 1346 we can form some idea of the place, which would appear to have been of the nature of a fortified manor house rather than a castle, and of which there were many others of the same type in the north of England : there was a " Hall with one

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\* J. C. Cox, *Royal Forests of England*.

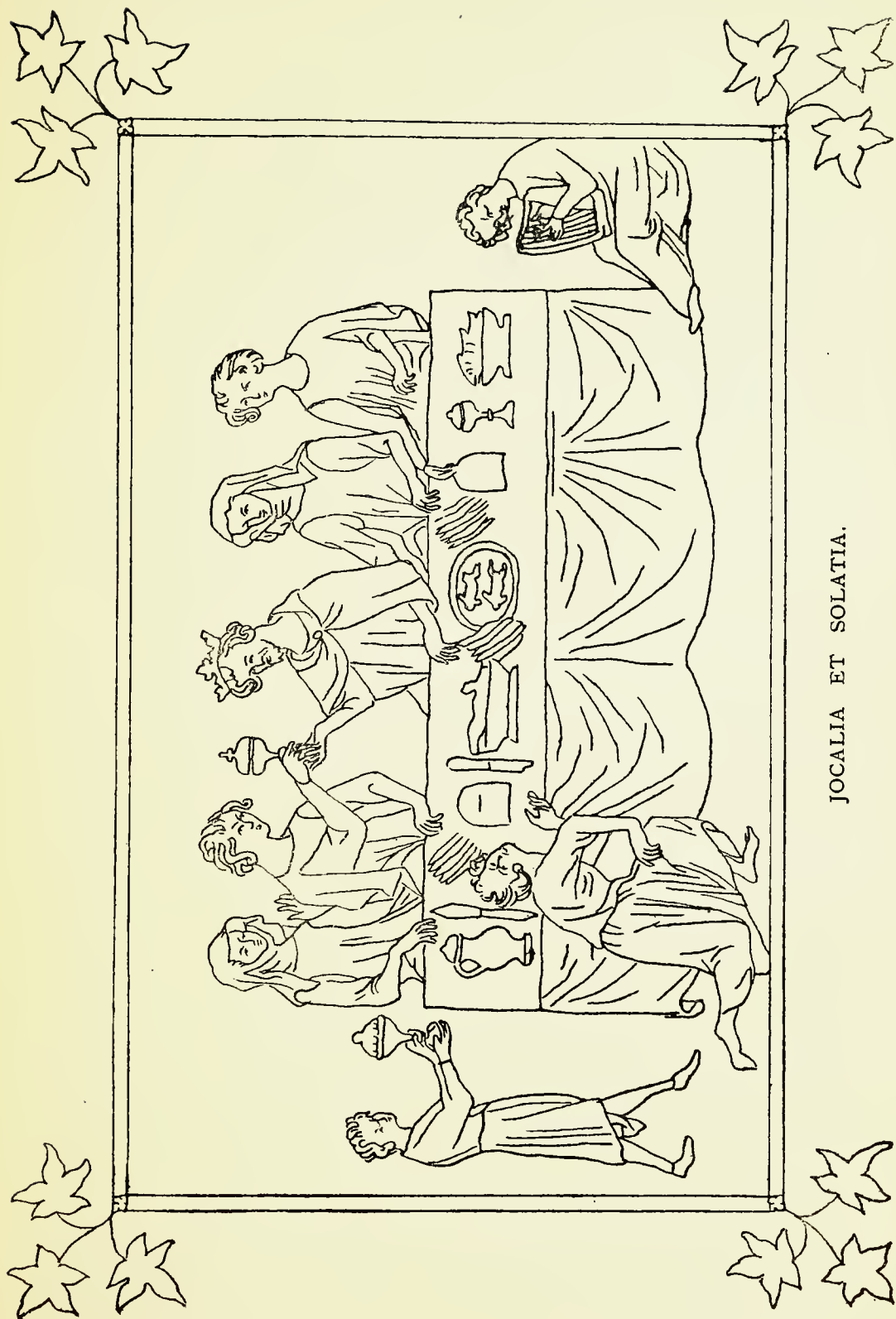


great chamber, garde robe, pantry and buttery kitchen : one chamber for knights, and one chapel, two granges, one "thorat" or kiln, one house for turves, one house for carpentry, one house for dogs, one stable, one smithy, two granges called Westbernes, and one with a stable : the trees growing in the park and about the enclosures of the manor are worth to sell 10 pounds."\* Hither in his hour of need, after his defeat at the battle of Annan, came her cousin german, King Edward Baliol. There is not space here to enter into the history of this unfortunate king ; it must suffice to say that there was at this time great discontent among the barons on either side of the border (many Scotch houses holding large estates in England, and English in Scotland), because, though Edward I. had provided for their claims by treaties, they had in every case been practically set aside. Christiana would be one of the chief sufferers, and no doubt Edward Baliol fled to her in hope that the interest of so powerful a personage, and his near relative, would enlist the sympathy and aid of others who equally felt themselves aggrieved. Christiana received her royal cousin with words of consolation (*solatia*) and to remove his melancholy entertained him with merrymaking and various amusements (*jocalia*); together they concocted plans for the restoration of large estates in Scotland belonging to Christiana,

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\* From inquisition post mortem on William de Coucy, 20 Edward III., 1346.





JOCALIA ET SOLATIA.

should Baliol prove successful against their mutual enemies.\*

Soon afterwards Baliol was reseated on the throne by Edward III., when it is probable that Christiana recovered her Scotch domains. Later, Baliol finding himself without a single adherent, and Christiana being dead, withdrew to the court of England where he lived in seclusion for the rest of his days.

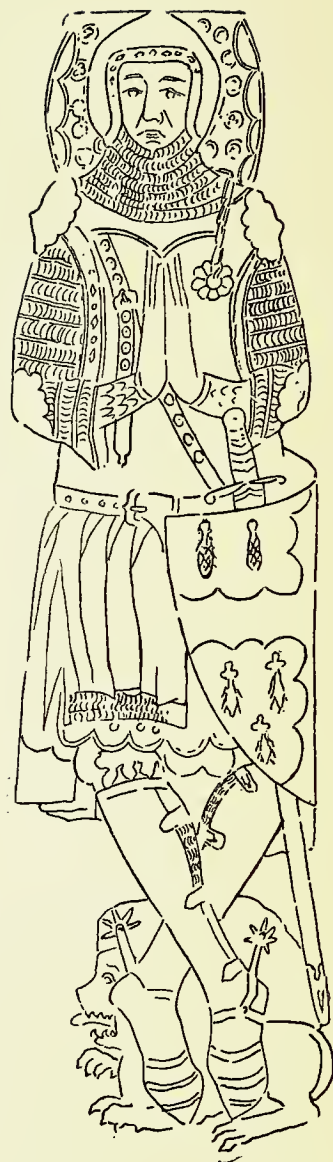
Christiana de Lyndesay died in 1334 in her 68th year ; the inquisito post mortem held as usual after her death, was almost identical with that of her husband Ingelram de Gynes ; she had held the half barony of Kendal with its appurtenances which included "manerium de lacu de Wynandremer in insula vocat le Holme" ; *i.e.*, manor of the lake of Windermere in an island called the Holme ; the hamlets of Applethwayt, Langdene (Langdale), Gresmere, Hamelsat (Ambleside), &c., together with the advowsons of Grasmere and St. Mary Holme, the fishing of the water of Kent (Kent aquae piscaria) ; the manor of Moureholme, and the manor of Ulverston in Lancashire ; and other property in Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. She was buried in the Abbey of Furness near the burying place of her ancestors, the de Lancastres ; on a tombstone in the abbey there is the inscription "Domina Xtina secunda" "The

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\* Postea vero moratus cum domina de Gynes consanguinea sua de proximo apud Moureholm a qua recepit diversa solatia et jocalia et promisit ei si posset prosperari magnas terras et redditus in Scotia qui sibi ab antiquo hereditarie debentatur (*Chron. Lanercost*).

Lady Christina the second." There can be no doubt that this is the grave of Christiana de Lyndesay ; her grandmother, mentioned in the inquisition post mortem of William de Lyndesay was also named Christiana, and surviving her son, probably lived long into the lifetime of her granddaughter who would consequently be known as "secunda." Two statues, formerly in the church, but now preserved with other relics in the infirmary of the abbey, probably represent Ingelram de Cuncy and Christiana his wife ; the armour of the knight and the dress of the lady correspond with the lifetime of Ingelram and Christiana. The knight is clothed in a hauberk of chain mail, round the forehead is an ornamented circlet ; above the mail he wears a surcoat, and over the shoulder is a belt by which the shield is suspended ; he appears in the act of drawing his sword. This style of accoutrements was in use early in the fourteenth century (Edward II., 1307-27). The figure of the lady is that of a widow (Christiana survived her husband several years) as appears from the "barbe" under the chin, kerchief over head, and the long mantle-like cloak.

On the death of Christiana endless complications ensued as to the succession to her estates, on account of some of her heirs being foreigners of the "kingdom and allegiance of France," and so unable to hold land in England ; several of her children were born in France (*natus et procreatus in regno Franciæ*) and some are described as "delaying their whole life in the kingdom of



IN THE TIME OF EDWARD II. (1307—1327).



France.” The genealogies given are very confusing, and a complete puzzle to the historian ; the same names occurring frequently and apparently of different generations, to reconcile the different lines of descent is almost impossible ; one point, however, is clear, Christiana de Lyndesay or de Coucy de Gynes was succeeded by William de Coucy, but whether he was her son or grandson is not equally certain.

There is another account slightly different as to the succession, but it is apparently confused and mixes up the different personages with one another. It says, “ William de Lyndesay left Christiana who married an alien, Ingelram de Guisnes, lord of Coucy in France ; by him there were two sons, Willliam, the elder, born in France, an alien and so could not inherit, and Ingelram, the younger, born in England who died without issue ; this moiety of the barony of Kendal escheated to the crown ; now William, the elder, had two sons, Ingelram, the elder, and William, the younger, both born in France and of allegiance to the King of France ; Ingelram inherited his father’s estates in France, and William had a grant of his grandmother’s moiety of the barony of Kendal, but, dying without issue, it again escheated to the crown.” \*

Locally but little is known of William de Coucy, nor is it certain that he resided in this district, but the following extract from the Calendar of Patent Rolls indicates that he had a close connection with it. “ In 1336 William de Coucy complained that

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\* Ferguson’s *History of Westmorland*.

William de Roos (Ros), of Kendale (castle), and his brothers, with Marmaduke de Twenge, Adam del Clare, Roger Otteway of Kirkby in Kendale, John de Levens, and about twenty others entered his free chase and broke down his park at Troutbeck, hunted there and carried away two deer, and killed two mares of his worth £20." \*

William de Coucy died, aged 35, "on the day of Mercury next after the feast of the purification of Saint Mary, in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third (1342), and the same William died without heir."

After his death, through lack of a direct heir, great confusion arose as to the property he held, and as to how much escheated to the crown. Many inquisitions were held by order of the king, and amongst others, one into the "concealed lands" of William de Coucy, which looks as though certain persons laid claim to some of his property which of right belonged to the king; thus an account was rendered to the king (Edward III.), by Sir Thomas de Strickland (Stirkeland), knight, dealing with the woodlands which had escheated to the king. The following is of local interest, showing how strict was the watch and hold kept over the king's woods:—

"A.D. 1351-1355. Account of Sir Thomas de Stirkeland, Knight, keeper of all the lands which were of William de Coucy deceased from 25th October, 25 Edward III., to 21st May in the 29th

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\* Inquisition taken at Lancaster before Hugo de Morisceby, escheator of the lord king in the county of Lancaster.

year (*i.e.*, 1351-5), when the king granted to John de Coupeland and Joan his wife (relict of William de Coucy) the park and several woods upon le Bradewode, the wood within the island of Wynandermere, &c.\*

WOODS:—For the herbage of the wood on le Bradewode, of the wood within the island of Wynandermere, of a moiety of the wood of Crosthwaite called Brendwode he (Sir Thomas de Stirkeland) does not answer for the time aforesaid because John de Coupeland and his tenants depastured the herbage as appertaining to the messuages of the tenants for which they render a certain rent to John de Coupeland which said rent is extended and delivered to the aforesaid John as parcel of the moiety of Kirkeby Kendal and for which (right of) herbage John and his tenants are to answer to the Lord the King.

And with regard to the sum of 56/- for 28 oaks in the wood received during the above time (1351-5) and as to the dead wood and wood thrown down (*prostrato*) by the wind, and bark, and cinders (charcoal), in the same woods, he (Sir T de S) does not answer, because all such profits belong to Adam de Ursewyk, the Forester, to whom the king granted the bailiwick aforesaid for all his life together with such fees and wages as in the same bailiwick before these times were accustomed to be received. And with regard to the pannage of hogs in the woods, payable each year at the feast of St Martin, he (Sir T de S)

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\* Ministers' Accounts, 1118-5 (translated from Latin).

does not answer for the 25th year (Edward III., 1351) because John de Coupeland had the pannage aforesaid which was worth that year 40/-, as belonging to the moiety of the Manor of Kirkeby (Kendal); and for the same pannage John de Coupeland was to answer the Lord King. And for 33/4, the price of 10 hogs for pannage arising in the 26th year (1352) (the price of each 2/-); and for moneys numbered for such pannage in the woods of Bradewode, Brendwode, and Aynerholme in the 27th and 28th years (1353-4) he (Sir T de S) does not answer; nor for the pannage of the woods of Rithermerfell, and within the island of Wynandermere, because John de Coupeland had the pannage thereof as appertaining to a moiety of the Manor of Kendal for which same pannage John de Coupeland is to answer to the king. And he (Sir T de S) answers also for the 4/6 for the herbage of the wood of Aynerholme, so sold for all time aforesaid (1351-5), and also for 4/- for honey found in the woods aforesaid and sold during the same time.

The sums accounted for £7 : 14 : 4½.

Total sums of all receipts accounted for £20 : 17 : 2.

Expenses of Justices deducted £10 : 6 : 8, and the balance accounted for in the Pipe Roll 29 Edward III. (1356) under Westmorland. The sums to be accounted for by John de Coupeland as above are set out on the dorse of the Roll."

On the death of William de Coucy in 1346, the half barony of Kendal escheated to the king,



Edward III., and he in 1350 granted it to the renowned warrior John de Coupeland, who had married Joanna, the widow of William de Coucy.\*

Of John de Coupeland, Becke (*Annales Furnesienses*) says "upon this person Fortune lavished her fairest smiles and allotted to him the chief prize at the battle of Nevill's Cross (in 1336), for the King of Scotland became his prisoner after a severe personal conflict in which the irate David dashed out several of his opponent's teeth. On delivery of his important captive to Edward, then at Calais, that generous sovereign created him a knight baronet, and for the maintenance of this dignity allowed him £500 yearly from the customs of London and Berwick on Tweed until an equivalent in land could be provided for him." This land de Coupeland was apparently allowed to select for himself and in this case consisted of half the barony of Kendal; no doubt the choice was made at the instigation of his wife Joanna, who had previously enjoyed it as the wife of William de Coucy.

Although we have no record of John de Coupeland's residence in this district, there is no doubt that he constantly visited his possessions here, for there were frequent disputes between him and the Abbot of Furness, to whom the manor of Ulverston ultimately escheated on the death of his wife Joanna.

His chief residence was at Roxburgh Castle of which the king made him custodian. He was murdered in 1358; in Rymers Foedera there is

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\* Daughter of John de Rigmayden.

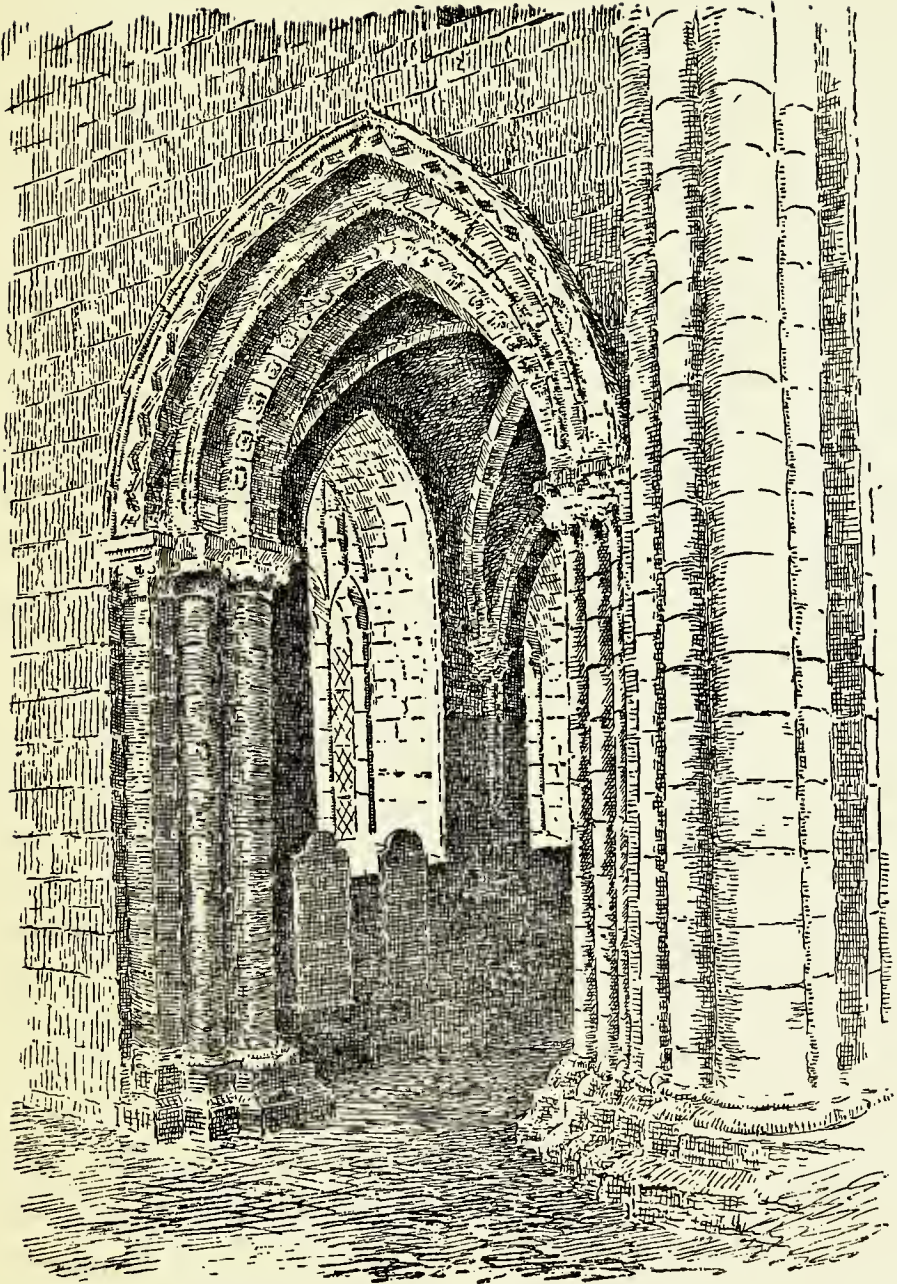
mention of a payment of £100 paid by the king to William de Wessefield for his expenses in prosecuting the murderers. His wife Joanna, as arranged, succeeded in his domains for her lifetime.

She died in 1375, when, on her inquisition post mortem being taken by the escheator for Westmorland it was found that she had held the manor of Windermere with the hamlets of Troutbeck, Applethwaite and Undermilnbeck, and the advowson of the chapel of Saynmariholm within the lake of Windermere. The reversion belonged to Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford.

Dugdale in his *Baronage* has the following as to Ingelram de Coucy :—" He was a person of singular endowments and merits and was held in high estimation by Edward III. and especially for his signal department towards him from the beginning of the peace between England and France. In consideration whereof the king bestowed on him all the lands and lordship of William de Couci whose cousin and heir he was viz :—the moiety of the Manor of Kirkeby in Kendale with its members in as ample a manner as Christiana de Guines (née de Lyndesay) enjoyed the same ; but not only so but gave him his daughter Isabel in marriage in 1336 affording him license to go over with her to France and declared that any children soever male or female they might have begotten between them and who should be born beyond the sea should enjoy and inherit all lands descending to them in this realm as freely as if they were born here.\*

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\* No doubt this was done to obviate the confusion as to heirs created by the foreign marriage of Christiana de Lyndesay.



TOMBSTONES.



In 40 Edw. III. (1367) when Lionel Duke of Clarence on occasion of his marriage with the daughter of Galzanet Lord of Millaine came to Paris this Ingelram then called Lord Couci attended the king of France with the Dukes of Bergundy and Bourbon at his reception there with great joy. (Froissat). Shortly afterwards in the same year (1267) he was by letter patent created Earl of Bedford and for the better support of himself and Lady Isabel his wife had a grant of 100 marks per annum out of the profits of the King's Exchequer, but surrendering that grant he obtained another in various counties of England and in 1373 he had another grant for the marriage of Robert heir to the Earl of Oxford to be husband for his daughter Phillipa.

In 1374 he served the king in his wars in France and in 1377 was again with Isabel his wife in France ; but surviving Isabel he afterwards wedded the daughter of Charles Duke of Lorraine in 1400 and died at Nicopolis in 1401 (3 Hen. IV.) leaving issue by Isabel his first wife two daughters, his heirs, Mary married to Henry de Barre, and Phillipa to Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland."

On the death of Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford, the moiety of the barony of Kendal, including Windermere, descended to his daughter Phillipa, wife of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, afterwards created Duke of Ireland ; through her mother she was grand-daughter of Edward III. ; she was divorced from her husband for lack of children and apparently suffered much ill treatment



at his hands ; he was a man of lawless character and was finally impeached and outlawed and his lands were confiscated. He died in 1392 in great penury, of hurts received in a boar hunt. Phillipa died in 1411, when the moiety again reverted to the crown. The inquisition on Phillipa de Vere was taken before the Escheator of Westmorland when it was declared that she had held a moiety of the manor of Kirkeby in Kendale, the advowson of the chapel of Windermere, and the advowson of the chapel of Seynt Mary Holm in Windermere, with Monkburch and other lands annexed to the latter.

The half barony was now granted by Henry IV. to his third son, John, Duke of Bedford, but on his death in the reign of Henry VI. it again reverted to the crown. At the inquisition post mortem taken on the death of the Duke of Bedford in 1435 it was found that his possessions included a moiety of the barony of Kirkeby in Kendale, and "a certain parcel of lands and pasture called Windermere or the Holme, with the fishery there, with Milnebeck and a certain other parcel of land or pasture called Applethwait, with a certain mill there for grinding corn." There is a reference to the Courts of Windermere, Kirkby, &c., and to the advowson of the parish church of Windermere.

In an account of the Earl\* of Bedford's lands made 1438-9, a rental of 3d. is mentioned as being for the farm of one boat for the passage, *i.e.*, the

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\* Query, duke.

ferry of the water of Windermere ; also a payment to the chaplain of the chantry or free church of Saint Mary Holme, in the water of Windermere.

On the death of the Duke of Bedford the half barony was granted to John de Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt and great-grandson to Edward III. ; but he also dying without issue it again reverted to the crown.

The inquisition post mortem held on the death of the Duke of Somerset in 1443, states that Walter de Strickland had a grant for life of the post of keeper of the King's Park of Calgarth on the shores of Windermere, together with the fishery of the water of Windermere and the custody of the king's lands in Applethwaite and Undermilnbeck in the parish of Windermere, and that the king (Henry VI.) had granted a reversion of these premises to the duke. Sir Walter de Strickland was also appointed receiver general of all the king's rents in and about Kendal, with a fee of £10, and 1/- a day when upon the king's business ; and afterwards the king granted him the pannage and the herbage of the park of Calgarth, with the fishery in the lake and all the king's lands and tenants in the hamlets of Applethwait and Undermilnbeck for life, for which he was to pay the king five marks yearly.

After the death of the Duke of Somerset and during the time the moiety of the Barony rested with the crown, the King, Henry VI., in 1446 granted to Thomas Danyell an annuity out of two parts of the lordship or manor of Troutbeck, and

of one "parcel of waste land called Windermere Holme in the water of Windermere and of two parts of all lands in Undermilnbeck and along the fishery of the water of Windermere and all the king's lands in Applethwait." From this it would appear that the Holme Island was no longer inhabited as a residence, and that it was denuded of timber. There was another grant to Thomas Danyell a few years later of the fishery in Windermere, the patronage of the church of Windermere, and the chapel of St. Mary within the water of Windermere.

The next grant of the moiety of the barony of Kendal was to Margeret the daughter and heiress of the last owner, the Duke of Somerset, and wife of the Earl of Richmond. From her it has taken its present name, so that this half of the ancient barony of Kendal is still known as Richmond Fee.

The Countess of Richmond caused a rental to be made of her fee; included we find Gresmere rendering £11 : 10 : 6; Loughrigg, £2 : 3 : 6; Arncliffe, £26 : 14 : 9; Troutbeck, £4 : 4 : 9; Applethwaite, £30 : 4 : 0; Undermilnbeck, £8 : 10 : 6. Among fees and pensions are:—to the steward, £5; to the land sergeant, £10; to the forester of Troutbeck, £2 : 3 : 0; to Reginald Bray, the general receiver, £4 : 11 : 0; to Richard Berwick, the bowbearer of Troutbeck, £3 : 1 : 6; and to St. Mary Holme, £6.

From the Ministers' Accounts of Henry VI., it appears that the fulling mill which had been lately erected under the chapel of Troutbeck was pulled





THE ABBOTS GATEWAY, CARTMEL PRIORY.



down by the officers of the Countess of Richmond lest damage should be done by it to the fish breeding in Windermere. This was a period of great activity and extension of the local woollen trade, of which Kendal was the centre, and in consequence fulling mills, in which the wool, spun in cottages and farms of the district, was treated and cleaned, sprang up in great numbers all over the district. Mention is made in these accounts of the fulling or walk mills in Ambleside and Loughrigg.

In another account of the bailiffs of the Earl of Richmond, in 1453-4 there is shown a sum of 50/- yearly from the farm of the two parts of the fishery in the water of Windermere. Henry Bellingham, "Farmer of the Fishery," claimed to have the ferry of the water of Windermere in his farm.

Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, was mother to Henry VII. by her first husband, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Stowe says "She was a great and noble woman to whom the King her son owed everything and whose notable acts and charitable deeds, exercised in her life, cannot in a small volume be expressed." She was the foundress of Christ's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge. She was the special patroness of Caxton whose printing house was set up in the almonry of Westminster Abbey. Her second husband was Sir Henry Stafford, younger son of the Duke of Buckingham; her third husband was Thomas, Lord Stanley, who crowned Henry VII. on the field of Bosworth, and was afterwards created Earl Derby. She died a few years after

the coronation of her grandson, Henry VIII. "Everyone that knew her loved her and everything she did or said became her." Her tomb is in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey. She is represented in her old age with her hands raised in a prayer; she wears a widow's dress with a hood and long mantle, and her feet rest on a hind couchant.

On the death of the Countess of Richmond the Richmond Fee was again vested in the crown, reverting to her grandson, Henry VIII.

This date brings us to the end of mediæval history; after this time all historical research can be conducted with fuller amplitude and accuracy; much has been written since then about our district and so only a few words need be added.

The Richmond Fee continued with the crown under Elizabeth who made from it various grants at different times. She also by exchange obtained possession of the Marquis Fee, which, with the Richmond, constitutes more than three quarters of the ancient barony of Kendal. In 1613 James I. granted these fees to his son Charles I.

Charles II. settled the fees on his wife, Catherine de Braganza, whence they got the name of the Queen's Lands.

On the death of Catherine de Braganza the fees came into possession of the Lowther family, whose representative, the Earl of Lonsdale, now holds them.

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## III.

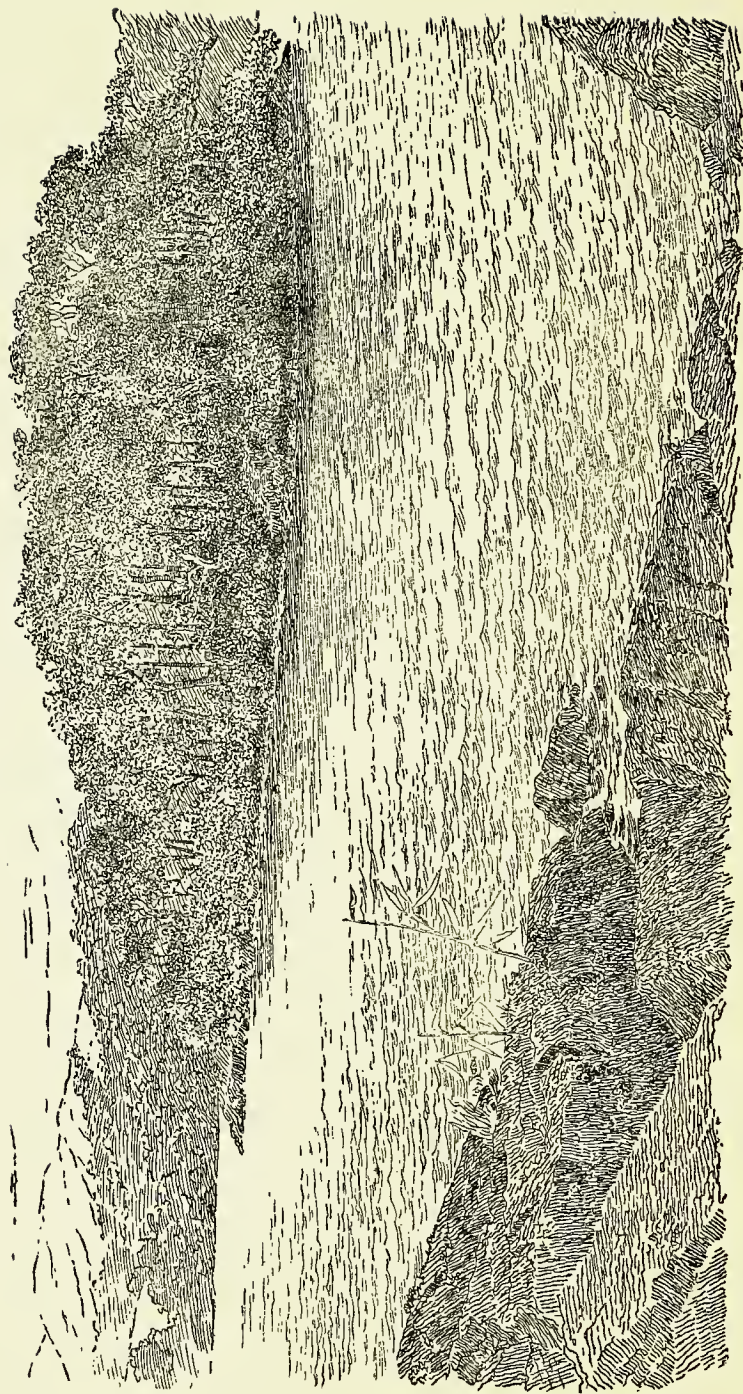
THE CHANTRY OF SAINT MARIE HOLME WITHIN  
THE WATER OF WYNANDERMER.

THE small island of Lady Holme lying in the northern part of Windermere Lake, about a quarter of a mile from the eastern shore, has long been known as the site of a former chapel or chantry. Little is known as to its origin, and its history is involved in mists of obscurity. Neither are there any remains to be found on the island which would give any clue to the character of the building formerly there, but there are signs that stone has been quarried, and heaps of stone in various places appear to indicate old buildings.

It was once supposed that the priests who served the chantry were supplied by the abbey of Furness, but as that abbey never had any possessions at any time in the lake of Windermere this supposition is erroneous, and from the documents quoted later it will be seen that it was colonised by a Scotch religious house.

The earliest mention of the island is in the inquisition post mortem held to inquire into the property of Walter de Lyndesay in the 50th year of Henry III., 1272. It is there stated that Walter de Lyndesay held (inter alia) a lake called Wynandermer, containing an island with a mansio





LADY HOLME, WINDERMERE.



(manor house) in the island,\* together with fisheries in the river Kent, out of which 10 marks yearly ought to be rendered to the Hermit Brethren of the Island of St. Mary in Wynandermer, for ever by the charter of the said Walter.

Walter de Lyndesay was nephew and co-heir to William de Lancastre III., Baron of Kendal, to whose property he succeeded in 1246 (in right of his mother Alicia, sister of William de Lancastre). In the inquisition post mortem of William de Lancastre held in 1246, although the lake is mentioned as part of his domains, there is no reference either to a mansio on the great island nor to a chantry on the island of Lady Holme. It follows that the buildings on these two islands date from between the years 1246 and 1272, and must have been erected by Walter de Lyndesay. This is made more evident from the fact that Walter de Lyndesay was of Scotch origin and closely allied with the ecclesiastical party there, vide his journey as one of the Scotch ambassadors to Henry III. in company with the Abbot of Jedburgh and others, while the fact that the chantry priests were also from Scotland further proves the connection between the two.

The foundation of chantries which rose to a great height in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was introduced about the middle of the thirteenth century ; therefore this Windermere chantry was among the earliest of such foundations.

In the Patent Roll of the eleventh year of

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\* Holme Island, now Belle Isle.

Edward I., A.D. 1283, we have the following entry : "Presentation of Henry de Whetely to the chapel of Wynandermer void, and in the King's gift by reason of the lands late of William de Lyndesay tenant in chief being in the king's hands." On the death of William de Lyndesaye his daughter and heir was a minor which accounts for the lapse of patronage to the King.

Again in the third year of Edward III., A.D. 1330, there was a grant for life to William de Baumburgh, king's clerk, of the hospital of Seynt Marie Holme in Wynandermer, which was in the king's gift, and also a grant of the king's chapel in the same place.

Two doctrines of the Church of Rome had at this time taken a large hold on the imagination of the Middle Ages, one the belief in the efficacy of prayers and masses for the dead, the other the cult of the Virgin Mary ; the former of these accounts for the foundation of innumerable chantries, while in accordance with the second they were generally dedicated to the special protection of the "Beata Sancta Maria."

They were endowed with lands and sometimes a payment in money for the maintenance of the priest, but after Edward I. a license was necessary if the foundation was intended to be a permanent one. They were as a rule connected with the parish church, where it was usual for the chantry priest to assist at mass according to the directions of the parish priest, and in some cases he even acted as the schoolmaster.

What manner of men these hermit brethren mentioned in the charter of Walter de Lyndesay may have been, it is difficult to surmise at this distance of time. Apparently they did not exceed two in number, and from the inquisition it is evident that they must have supported themselves by tilling the land attached to the chantry on the neighbouring shores of the lake, while they were allowed certain rights of fishing and getting timber for repairs and firewood out of the adjoining woods.

Mediæval literature is full of reference to hermits and their habits, *e.g.*, " Hermits who inhabit woods and solitary places ; " " in that yle ane halie armit dwelled war tha daies " (in that island one holy hermit dwelled all his days) ; and Shakespeare has " as perfect as begging hermits in their holy prayers " (*Titus Andronicus*), and " I have built two chantries where priests still sing for Richard's soul " (*Henry IV.*) The chamber of the chantry priest was sometimes over the chapel, but he generally lived in one or two rooms in a hut built of stone or wood, with but little light, and an open hearth and chimney for burning turf and wood ; a bench or stool, a wooden bedstead with a mattress of straw or leaves would comprise most of his furniture. In the north of England the dress of a chantry priest was a coarse frieze or woollen cassock with leathern girdle, thick clogs, and a felt or no hat, and sometimes he carried a dagger. These priests were not always of the peasant class, but often of the highest families in the land, and had taken to these solitary and

religious methods for reasons which commended themselves largely to the superstitions of the mediæval knight as an atonement for past sins and a promise of future amendment.

The following inventory of the property of a chantry in Lancashire may be taken as a specimen of others in the north of England, and, without a stretch of imagination, we may suppose that the chantry of St. Marie Holme would possess a similar species of goods.

For the use of the chapel,—

I chaley (chalice) of silver.      I cope of green silke.  
I vestmente of grene damaske.

For masses for the dead,—

I vestmente of black silke.  
I vestmente with a tunycle of white bustyan.  
IIII altar cloths.      II corporaxes.  
II towelles (for use of the altar).      II masse bokes.  
I vale (veil for the Holy sacrament).  
II cruets of pewter.  
I pix (for exhibition of relics).  
II crosses, one of copper, and the other of wood.  
II candlesticks for the altar.

For household use,—

III brasse pots.      III pannes of brass.  
XIII pieces of pewter vessels.  
I brandreth of iron (a tripod of iron with a plate for making oat bread).  
II broches (spits) of iron.  
I chassen dish of latten (brass).  
I skem of latten.      I basin with one ewer.  
II Keires (chests) of wood.  
III stands of wood (for candles).\*

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\* From *Lancashire Chantries* by Canon Raine.



A sacring bell, sometimes called a saunce bell, was generally suspended in a little belfry between the nave and the chancel, and was specially devoted to chantry chapels to announce the Elevation of the Host.

The food of the hermit would consist of salted meat probably twice a week. On the day of the patron saint, and other anniversaries, he would probably have fresh meat. On other days his fare would be boiled beans with dried herrings and other fish, cheese, coarse brown bread and apples, with eggs and any fresh fish he might catch in the lakes or rivers where he had the right of fishing (which latter was the cause of the high value attached to fishing in the Middle Ages, when a fish diet was often one of obligation). In all cases the patronage of a chantry belonged to the heirs of the founder, and the chaplain was presented and instituted as to a cure of souls. Consequently we find in many of the inquisitions post mortem during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that the advowson and patronage of the chapel of St. Marie Holme were part of the possessions of the descendants of the de Lancaster family, who held the Lyndesay moiety of the barony of Kendal.

Herein, according to the charter of Walter de Lyndesay, would be celebrated daily mass by the two hermit brethren for the soul of William de Lancastre (his uncle), for those of his parents, of all faithful departed, and finally for the good estate of himself and his wife and children during this life, and for the health of their souls after death.

What was the history of this small chantry during the hundred years after its foundation we can partially ascertain from an inquisition taken at Kendal, in 1354, to inquire into the possessions of William de Coucy, deceased, and which had come into the hands of the king (Edward III.), by escheat for lack of heirs, *viz.* :—"An inquisition taken at Kirkeby in Kendale in the County of Westmorland on Monday next after the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary in the reign of King Edward the third after the conquest, that is to say of England 28th and of France 15th (A.D. 1354) by the oath of Ralph de Bethom, Knight (and others) who say upon their oath . . . . ."

(Inter alia) "That two chaplains of the order of the house of S . . . . .\* (decayed) in Scotland used to hold and have a certain chantry within a certain island of the Water of Windermere called St. Mary Holme which is within the lordship of the lands which were of William de Coucy to which same chantry the island aforesaid is appropriated for the dwelling and chapel of the chaplains aforesaid. And there is appropriated to the same chantry one close of land called Frerefeld (Friars Field) containing nine acres which are worth by the year 6/8. And there is appropriated to the same chantry one close of land called Monkburch † (Monk's Hill) containing 15 acres

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\* The house has been given as that of the house of St. Austin of Segden in Berwickshire, near Berwick. See later.

† Frerefeld and Monkburch were situated at Calgarth on the shores of Windermere.

which are worth by the year 13/4; and there appertain to the same chantry a certain boat upon Wynandermer for fetching their timber in, and a certain boat upon the same water for fishing wheresoever within the Water aforesaid with ten nets at all times of the year. And they say that the chaplains ought to have for housebote and hayebote \* dead wood in the King's wood of Westwode without view or delivery of foresters.† And that they should have in the wood aforesaid timber for building and green wood for burning by view and delivery of the foresters and in no other manner. And they shall have common of pasture for all kinds of their cattle in the wood and in the pasture of Applethwaite at all times of the year. Also they say that the chaplains used to have and receive as in right of their chantry ten marks by the year issuing from a moiety of the mill of Kirkeby (in Kendale) which (moiety) appertained to the ancestors of William de Coucy; and if the profits of the moiety should not suffice to pay the

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\* Timber for repairing their houses and hedges. Timber in its mediæval sense was wood cut by the axe.

† The privilege of taking wood without view of (*i.e.*, in presence of the foresters) was granted to few. It was not permitted to those who had wood in the forest, nor to freeholders who had prescription, nor to copyholders by custom to take housebote or hayebote without view of the forester, and the wood so taken was presented at the next Court (of the Forest) as having been taken by view. These restrictions were intended to prevent the taking of wood and green hue in places inconvenient for the game. And a prescription or permission to take or cut down timber was not good unless the allowance of a former eyre or court be shown. Many disputes arose over such permissions, as well as over fishing rights. (Beck's *Annales Furnesienses*).

ten marks then the ancestors should satisfy them for that which was wanting thereof, out of their (the ancestors) coffers, or elsewhere within the lordship of Kendale. And because the aforesaid mill in the time of Ingelram de Gynes ancestor of William de Coucy was decayed and is not yet rebuilt the same Ingelram and his heirs and the said William de Coucy during all his time were accustomed to deliver to the chaplains the ten marks by the year out of their coffers or elsewhere by suitable assignment within (the Lordship of) Kendale, out of pure conscience and their mere goodwill.

And they say that the last chaplain (there) residing died about the Feast of All Saints in the aforesaid 23rd year (1349); from whose death to the day of the taking of this Inquisition (1354) the chantry has been vacant and is vacant at present. And they say that the Lord King (Edward III.) is bound to confer that chantry on one fit chaplain or two chaplains if the possessions of the same chantry would suffice for the support of the same as in the right which he has in the lordship which was of William de Coucy in Kendale.

And they say that John de Coupland from the time of the death of the last chaplain has occupied the close at Monkburgh and occupies it at present; and that Robert de Stirkeland\* occupied the close of Frerefeld from the death of the chaplain till the feast of St. Martin in the 26th year (1349-1352)

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\* Mentioned in the first part of this inquisition as keeper of the king's lands, late of William de Coucy.





A KNIGHT AND A HERMIT.

TO FACE P. 84.



since which feast John Phillipson holds the close aforesaid by demise of Thomas de Stirkeland rendering therefor to the King by the year by the hands of the aforesaid Thomas 6/8 at the feast of Pentecost and St. Martin by equal portions. And they say that the other profits of the chantry are now not worth more than . . . . (illegible) and are not yet occupied for that no one would hire them. And they say that all the lands and tenements and other profits of the Chantry appertain to the Lord King as in right of the lordship aforesaid at every time of the vacancy of the Chantry.

In witness whereof to this Inquisition the aforesaid Jurors have affixed their seals. Dated at Kirkeby in Kendal the day and year above said (Monday after 25th March, 1354)."

In the original parchment of this inquisition (preserved in the Public Record Office) the name of the house (domus) in Scotland which supplied the two chaplains mentioned therein is all but illegible. It has been given as Segden, or more fully the house of St. Austin of Segden in Berwickshire, near Berwick; possibly this is correct, but with equal probability the house may have been Jedburgh, with the abbot of which monastery Walter de Lyndesay was on friendly terms. The following seems to confirm this view "The monastery of Jedderworth or Jedburgh was so wasted and impoverished by the Scottish wars that it was unable to maintain its canons, nor could they reside there in safety to serve God, whereupon Edward I. out of his piety and ecclesiastical prerogative sent

some of them to other religious houses of the same order in England, to be there received and maintained untill the House was restored and repaired."

The jurors of the inquisition state that the last chaplain died about the Feast of All Saints, 23rd Edward III. (November 1st, 1349), and that no one would take the chaplaincy; this was probably on account of the great depreciation of the value of the lands attached to the chaplaincy at this period.

This year, 1349, was the year in which that great scourge, the Black Death, swept over England, carrying off nearly two-thirds of the population, and causing, as is known from contemporary records, great mortality among the priests of all kinds while engaged in their ministrations on the sick. There can be but little doubt that the chaplain of St. Marie Holme perished from this dire disease; and why the chantry remained vacant for some time and why "no one would hire" the lands attached to it will appear from the following:—  
"The most terrible plague which the world ever witnessed advanced from the east and swooped at the close of 1348 upon Britain; of the three or four million which then formed the population of England more than one half were swept away by its repeated visitations. The Black Death fell on the village almost as fiercely as on the town. More than one half of the parish priests of the north are known to have perished. The scarcity of hands made it difficult for the minor tenants to perform the services due for their lands. For a time cultivation became impossible; the sheep and



cattle strayed through fields and corn and there was none left to drive them."\*

The sum of ten marks made good to the chaplains by the lords of the manor when their income fell short from other sources, would amount in money of the present day to about £130 (taking a mark of the fourteenth century at  $13/4$  and reckoning it to have twenty times the purchasing power of the present day); in addition to this they had many perquisites, of which the most valuable would be the possession of two boats, one for fishing in the lake and the other for carrying timber and other necessities.

During the vacancy of the chantry, John de Coupland, to whom Edward III. had granted the de Lyndesay moiety of the barony of Kendal for his own and his wife's † life, had apparently seized one of the two closes belonging to the chantry; this appears from "The Account of Sir Thomas de Stirkeland rendered to the King (Edward III.) 1351. Vacancy of the Chantry of St. Marie Holm. For the herbage of a certain close called Monkburch (Mountburch on the dorse of the Roll) which belongs to the chantry and which is worth by the year (illegible) he (Sir T de S) does not answer because John de Coupland occupied it for the same time claiming it as a parcel of the moiety of the manor of Kirkeby (Kendale). But for the time of this occupation it is considered to be in the King's Court and that John de Coupland shall

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\* Green's *History of England*.

† Widow of William de Coucy.

make satisfaction to the King therefor (by due process before John de Haverington of Farleton and his associates the King's Justices appointed to hear and determine divers trespasses in the County of Westmorland done to the King). And as to the sum of 23/4 for the farm of the close called Frerefeld with the fishery in the Water of Wynandermere which appertain to the chantry Sir Thomas de Stirkeland answered as part of the lands of the King."

After this date, the history of the chantry becomes once more enveloped in darkness, and no evidence has been met with as to whether and when the new chaplains were appointed, or whether the lands which had formerly belonged to it were restored; but that the chantry continued its functions in some form is evident from the references to it in the various inquisitions and inventories of property during this period.

In the inquisition held at the death of Joanna de Coupland in 1375, it was found that she held (inter alia) the advowson of the chapel of Saynmarieholm within the lake of Windermere.

In the inquisition of Phillipa de Vere in 1411, she is credited with the advowson of the chapel of Seyntmarieholm in Windermere, with Monkburgh and other lands annexed to the chapel.

In an account of the profits of the Earl of Bedford's lands in 1438, is found a payment to the chaplain of the chantry or free chapel\* of Saint

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\* Free chapels were places of worship exempted from the mother church and from episcopal jurisdiction, an exemption which was a privilege obtained immediately from the crown and appended to ancient manors originally belonging to the crown (*Tanner's Not. Monasticon*).

Marie Holme in the water of Windermere in the county of Westmorland.

In the patent granted by the King (Henry VI.) to Thomas Danyell in 1446, is included one parcel of waste land called Windermere Holme in the water of Windermere, together with the fishery in the water of Windermere, and the patronage of the church of Windermere and the chapel of St. Mary within the water of Windermere in the county of Westmorland.

Finally, in her survey of her moiety of the barony of Kendal made by order of the Countess of Richmond mention is made of a payment of £3 : 1 : 6 due to St. Mary Holme.

In a patent of 1334 there is reference to the "Hospital" \* of St. Mary in the island of Seynt-marieholm, in Windermere, and also to the king's chapel in the parish of Windermere; at that time both were in the king's gift. How the chantry and

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\* Camden, who wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, has the following as to mediæval hospitals. "At Burton Lazars in Leicestershire was a rich Spittle House or Hospital, under the master whereof were in some sort all other Spittles or Lazer houses like as himself (the master of Burton Lazars) was under the master of the Lazer in Hierusalem (Jerusalem). It was founded in the first age of the Normans by a common contribution over all England and the Moubrays especially did set to their helping hands.

At which time the Leprosie which the learned term Elephantasis (because the skins of Lepres are like to that of Elephants) in grievous manner by way of contagion ran all over England. For it was verily thought that this desease did first creep out of Aegypt into this Island, which eft once had spread itself into Europe first of all in Pompeius Magnus his daeis, and afterwards at other times as we may see in histories; whether by celestial or other hidden causes I leave to the learned."

a hospital could be combined on so unlikely a place as an island in Windermere is a problem which cannot be solved now ; nor is it clear what is meant by the term hospital, which may have been used in its mediæval sense as a hospital for lepers and so connected with the leper hospital of St. Leonard in Kendal, or in its more modern meaning as a place of reception for guests, and house of entertainment for pilgrims and travellers (French hospice). To our modern notions the island would seem equally unsuitable for either purpose.

The beginning of the sixteenth century saw the dawn of the Reformation in England and marked an epoch when the superstitions of the Middle Ages were beginning to vanish before the light of new doctrines and new ideas. On no institutions were there produced so immediate and permanent an effect as on the monastic establishments of every kind throughout England. Thus, when in 1537 the Dissolution of the Monasteries was decreed by Henry VIII. and his counsellors, although such small affairs as chantries were allowed to linger a short while longer, and were regarded with no particular disfavour by the authorities or the people, they soon suffered the same fate as the larger religious strongholds, and their feeble light was drowned in the general deluge which overwhelmed all things monastic.

And so it happened that some twelve years after the Dissolution of the Monasteries came the final extinction of the chantries. They died partly of inanition and partly because the great blow dealt



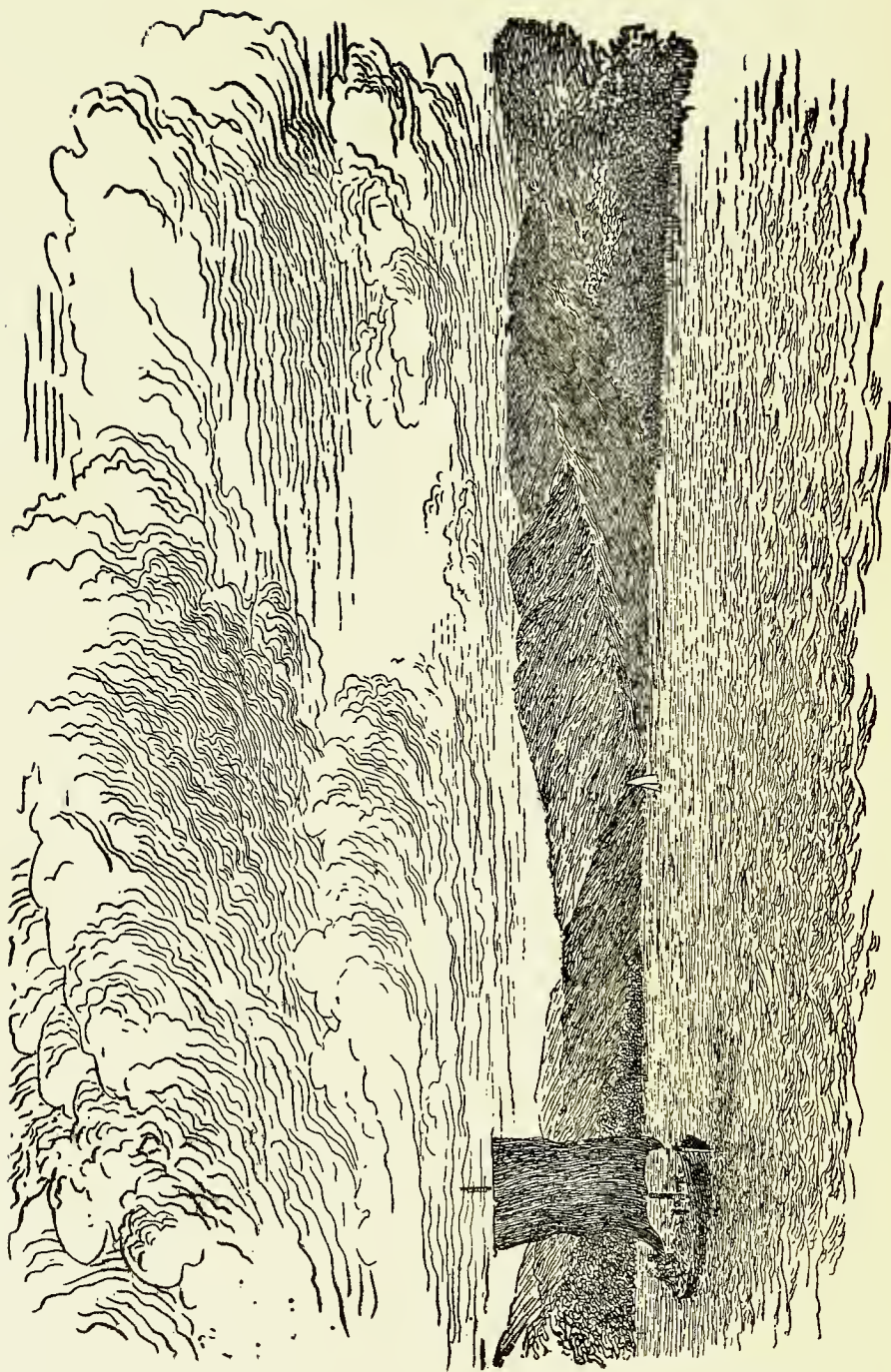
to the power of the Roman Church in England withdrew from them the support of both priest and laity. Nor can their fall be attributed to the so-called misdeeds of Henry VIII., for it was not until the reign of Edward VI. that they finally ceased to exist. That they were not disliked by the people at large, among many of whom an affection for the old doctrines still lingered, is proved by the many petitions to the crown at the time when the monasteries were dissolved, praying that the chantries might not be suppressed and that in the great majority of cases the chantry priest had no other means of livelihood, and that in some parishes there were so many "houseling"\* people that the parish priest would have difficulty in administering to them the holy communion.

Nor was the office of chantry priest distasteful even to the more ardent reformers, for Bishop Latimer, to whom could be attributed no lack of reforming zeal, in a sermon preached before Edward VI. in 1549 exclaimed, "I would not that ye should do with chantry priests as ye did with the abbots."

Nevertheless, it was recognized that the day of the chantry priest was over. Therefore in 1546, or nine years after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, a survey or inquiry was made as to all those religious institutions which had survived the monastic shipwreck; thus, by command of Henry VIII., there was a survey of "all chantries, Hospitalles, colleges, Free chapelles, Fraternities,

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\* Communicants.



VII  
VIEW NORTHWARD FROM LADY HOLME.

brotherhoods, guilds, and salaries of stipendiary priests having perpetuities for ever; and into all lands, tenements, possessions, revenues, plate, jewells, ornaments and all other goods and chattels of the same within the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland." The inquiry was held by the "reverend father in God, Robert bushoppe of Carlisle," together with Thomas, Lord Wharton, Sir John Lowther, Knyghte, and Edward Edgore, as commissioners, in the months of May and June (1546) by virtue of the Commission of the King's Majesty directed to them bearing date at Westminster the "xiii. daie of februarye in the xxxvii. yere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord Henry the eighte by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith: and in erthe Supreme Hede of the Churches of Inglande and Irelande."

The report of the Commission is full of interesting details as to the various chantry chapels in Westmorland; the "memorandum" as to St. Mary Holme is less complete than some others, but it at least shows that the chantry was still continuing its functions at the date of the inquiry (1546). Together with the rest of the Richmond Fee of the barony of Kendal, it was at the moment in the king's hands, who apparently guaranteed to the chaplain his "wages," *viz.*: Memorandum of the Commissioners—"That Adam Curas,\* persone

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\* Sometimes spelt Carus or Carhouse: of a Westmorland family. Adam Curas remained Rector of Windermere until his death in 1586.



of Wynondermer, Myles Dycsone, George browne and William Richardsone, church wardens of the same, say . . . . Ther is a Fre chapelle within the parishinge of Wynondermer called our ladie chapelle of tholme (the holme) distant from the said parishe church half a myle : and they say that Sir\* William Mountforthe is clerke or persone of the same, and hath to his wages vi<sup>l</sup> xiiis. iiiid. (£6 : 13s. : 4d.) paid him yerlie by the handes of Christopher Philypsone, Receivour of the Kings Majesties rents of Wynondermer : and further they say there are two tenements belonging to the said chapelle of viiis. (8/-) ferme by the yere in tenour of Rolande Dicsone and Thomas Dicsone."

This survey leaves much unsaid and omits many matters on which it would be interesting and instructive to be enlightened. For instance we are not told why there was only one chaplain instead of the original two, whether he was of the reformed faith, if he lived on the island like his predecessors, or on one of the two tenements mentioned as belonging to the chantry and which were probably Frerefeld and Monkbergh situated at Calgarth, and in what relationship the chaplain stood to the parson of Windermere ; neither is there any inventory of the goods belonging to the chapel, such as a corporax, a chalice, chasubles, albs, altar cloths, candlesticks, bell, and missal which are mentioned as belonging to the de Ros chantry in the church of Kendal.

What were the intentions of Henry VIII. toward

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\* The usual Pre-Reformation prefix for a priest.



the chantry will never be known ; he apparently did not contemplate its immediate abolition, as he appointed Sir William Mountford chaplain for life.

Within a year of the report of the commission, Henry VIII. died, January 15, 1547. The accession of Edward VI., surrounded by protestant advisers, precluded any hope for the revival of monastic life amongst its adherents, while the development of the doctrines of the Reformation proceeded apace.

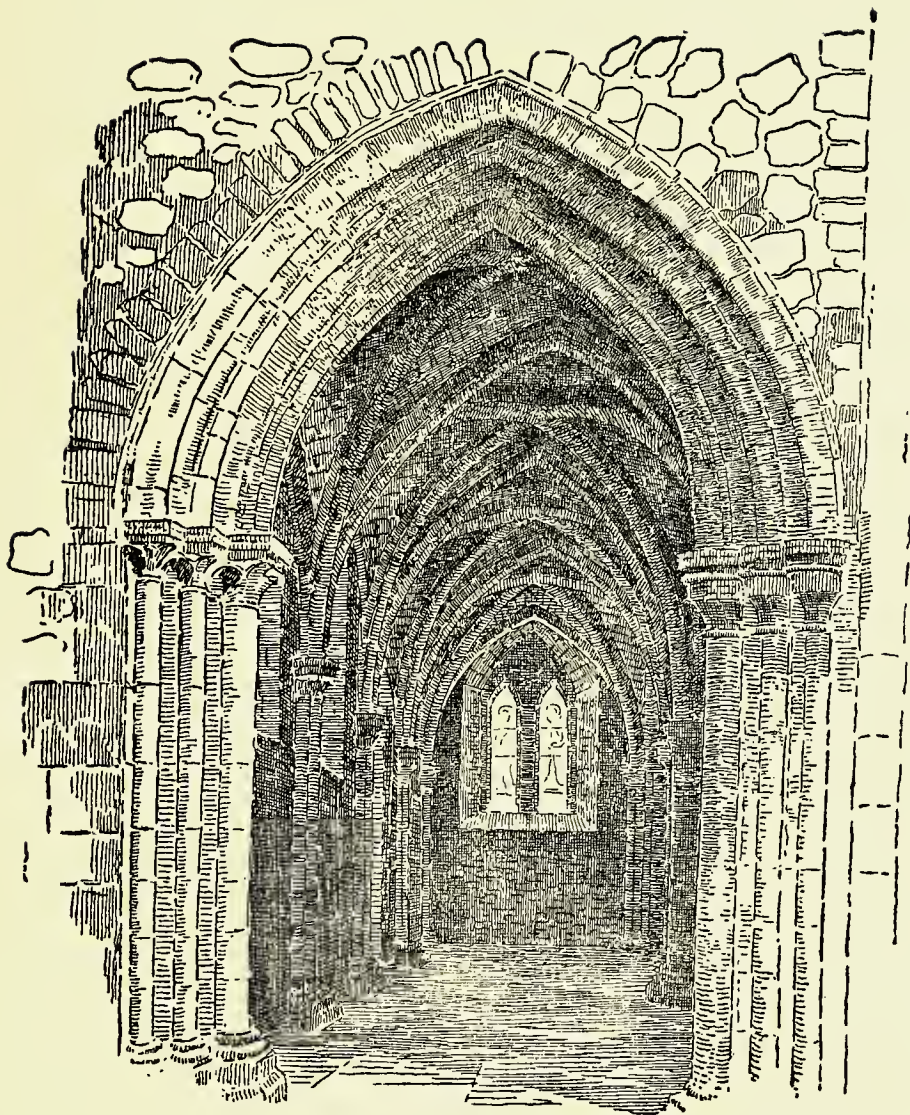
In 1549 (three years after the first commission), another commission was appointed to inquire into all the "Colleges, Hospitalls, chantries, free chapels, &c.," within the several counties of England and Wales, and a certificate of the commissioners was returned to the king. The certificate relating to Windermere is, unfortunately, very decayed in the original document ; it refers to the "Free chapel of Holmes" and the "free chapel of the Holme within the Parish of Wynandermere" ; "of the founder of (blank) to fynde a priest to celebrate there for ever" (a tantalising obscurity of expression). "William Mountford, incumbent, of the age of 60 hath the same granted for term of his life by letters Patent of King Henry VIII. ; the lands belonging to the same are of the yearly value of £7 : 0 : 6d. There are 1300 houseling people."

Though we have no record of the result of this commission, nor of the actual date of the demolition of the chantry, it cannot be doubted that after the death of William Mountford the

chapel would fall into ruin, and soon all trace of it would disappear. With the rapid spread of the new doctrines of the Reformation, which involved the rejection of the belief in masses for the dead, the *raison d'être* of the chantry was gone, and henceforth its very existence would be an anachronism. In some cases the lands and goods of the chantry were sold to the highest bidders, or sometimes schools were founded out of their estates.

The island itself became a part of the Calgarth domain, with which it had always had a close connection and to which it continued to belong until 1908. The statement that the population of Windermere parish numbered 1300 houseling people (which did not include young children) would be a little remarkable were it not known that these certificates were often hurried and inaccurate. Everyone over fourteen years was accounted a houseling person (one entitled to receive the holy communion). From the time of the arrival of St. Augustine until the Reformation the English name of the Eucharist was the housel, *e.g.*, the blessed housel being "the ghostyle bodye of our Lord Jesus Christ for the cleanseing," and, "this holy housel." And according to the Reformers (1548), "there is twain which are named the Church of God Sacraments, Baptysme and howslynge."

How the houseling people fared after the discontinuance of the ministrations of the chantry priests of St. Mary Holme, history does not relate.



A CHANTRY CHAPEL.

But it is known that about this time all the churches in the district were much decayed and neglected, and here comes in the legend connected with the carrier's arms window in Windermere Parish Church, which seems to throw a last gleam of light on the fate of the chantry of St. Mary Holme.

When Windermere Church required rebuilding, together with the chapels of St. Mary Holme, Troutbeck and Applethwaite, which were all decayed and unfit for divine worship, the parish (or district) was extremely poor. The legend says that a carrier proposed that whosoever made the largest donation to the rebuilding should choose the situation of the church to be repaired. This was agreed to. He offered to roof the church with lead. As such an offer far exceeded in expense those of the others, his choice of the church was allowed, which proved to be the ancient Parish Church of Windermere (Bowness). His arms (or rather his implements) were painted on a north window of the church. It is said that his name was Bellman, from the bells on his carrying horses, and the site of his abode is still known as Bellmanground.

Such are the few scattered facts it has been possible to unearth about the Chantry of St. Mary Holme.

It was an institution of the kind which appealed largely to the picturesque imagination of the Middle Ages; and even now, when its history is only an uncertain memory, there lingers about the



island an air of romance, with visions of knights and ladies, priests and peasants, foresters of fee, holy hermits in their boats, and echoes of tinkling chapel bells across the water, which may still touch our fancy with a call from the days of old.

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## APPENDIX I.

Rampholme, a small island in Windermere, lying a short distance south of the Ferry, is mentioned in a few mediæval documents under the name of Rogerholme. Like the other islands in the lake it was attached to the barony of Kendal: on the division of the barony in 1246 on the death of William de Lancastre III., it fell to the share of his neice, Margaret, eldest daughter of Peter and Helwisa de Brus, and wife of Robert de Ros, younger son of Robert, Lord Ros of Wark, by his wife Isabel, daughter of the King of Scots. Her share also included Kendal Castle, and the moiety of the barony known afterwards as the Marquis Fee (from its owner, William Parr, created Marquis of Northampton by Queen Elizabeth). The rest of Windermere went to the de Lyndesays and was included in the Richmond Fee.

The inclusion of Roger Holme in the Marquis Fee was probably an arrangement between the parties by which the owners of Kendal Castle might have a share in the fishing rights in the lake, which were in mediæval times considered of great value. Its possession apparently gave fishing rights to its owners, for amongst the many grants of Margaret de Ros, we find a grant by her in 1272, identical with and word for word the same as the grant of William de Lancastre in 1246, giving the Abbot of Furness a right to keep two boats, one on Winendremere, and another on Thurstine Water for carrying timber and building material (*mæremium*), and another small boat on either lake with twenty nets for fishing. As Windermere and Thurston Water were at this time in the possession of the de Lyndesay family, as owners of the Richmond Fee, it is not clear how Margaret de Ros obtained the right to make this grant. Make it however, she did, and possibly it was the possession of Rogerholme which enabled her to do so.

In 1297 we find Margaret de Ros a widow, living in Kendal Castle where she was known as the "Domina de Ros." She had attained a considerable age, and possibly a desire to be rid of some of the responsibilities of a large estate or a wish to enter a convent (a frequent custom among elderly dames), caused her to part with most of her property and divide it between her son William de Ros, and her nephew Marmaduke de Thweng. This appears from the following:—

"Confirmation at Winchelsea by Edward I., in 1297, of a charter which the King has inspected, whereby Margaret de Ros, tenant in chief, granted in fee simple to William de Ros, her son, who is staying in Gascony on the King's service, the Castle of Kirkby in Kendal with the demesnes there, two parks, and two stews and a meadow, a mill, a vivary (fishpond), etc., etc., together with a moiety of the fees, rents and services of free men appertaining to Margaret de Ros, of the inheritance of Peter de Brus, her brother, with the advowson of the hospital of St. Leonards by Haye, Severgh, Threlesgrope, Mountowe and Brendewoode."

Also at the same time and place (Winchelsea, 1297):—

"Confirmation by the King (Edward I.) of a charter of Margaret de Ros, granting in fee simple to her nephew, Marmaduke de Twenge, who is going beyond the seas with the king on his service, Helsington, Crosthwaite, le Lyth with Aynerholm, the manor and park of Gressemer and Langden, with the island of Rogerholm and the fishery of Wynandermer, the advowson of the Abbey of Cockersand and the Priory of Conigesheved (Conishead), and a moiety of free rents and free men belonging to Margaret de Ros of the inheritance of Peter de Brus her brother; a moiety of the town of Kendal and a moiety of the whole profit of that town, and her free court there, and Brendewoode, except 45 acres."

Margaret de Ros died in 1307, some ten years after these grants (1 Edward II.): three years later, in 1310,

her son William de Ros also died. This portion of the Kendal barony (Marquis Fee) continued with the de Ros family until 1383, when Elizabeth de Ros by her marriage with Sir William del Parre, conveyed it to the Parr family.

Sir Marmaduke de Thwenge who thus from his aunt received half of her estates, including the island of Rogerholm, was a warrior and leader of the English knights at the battle of Stirling (12th September, 1297) when by the superior strategy of William Wallace, the English forces of Edward I. suffered a temporary reverse in Scotland. He died in 1343. From his inquisition post mortem we find he had possessed among other property "a certain island called Rogerholm, or Rogholm, with the fishery thereof, rendering 6d. (or in modern money about ten shillings). He was succeeded by his son Thomas de Thweng, whose inquisition post mortem states that he held (inter alia) the manor of Staveley, which included a certain waste place called Rogerholm, and worth by the year beyond reprises (back payments)  $8/2\frac{1}{2}$ , a considerable increase in value since his father's time.

As this Thomas was parson or parish priest of Warton and Beetham, and rector of Lytham, he of course died unmarried. His successor was his sister Lucia, married to Sir Robert de Lumley, and thus it came about that Rogerholm and the rest of the de Thweng portion of the Kendal barony is now included in and known as the Lumley Fee.

This fee afterwards passed into the hands of the Bellinghams, owners of Levens, and from them to the Grahams, and so to the present owners of Levens.

At one time Rogerholm was known as Berkshire Island, from its possessor, Henry Howard, fourth Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, who owned Levens Hall in 1721, to which estate it still belongs. It is still sometimes so called, but nowadays is better known under the name of Ramphome.



## APPENDIX II.

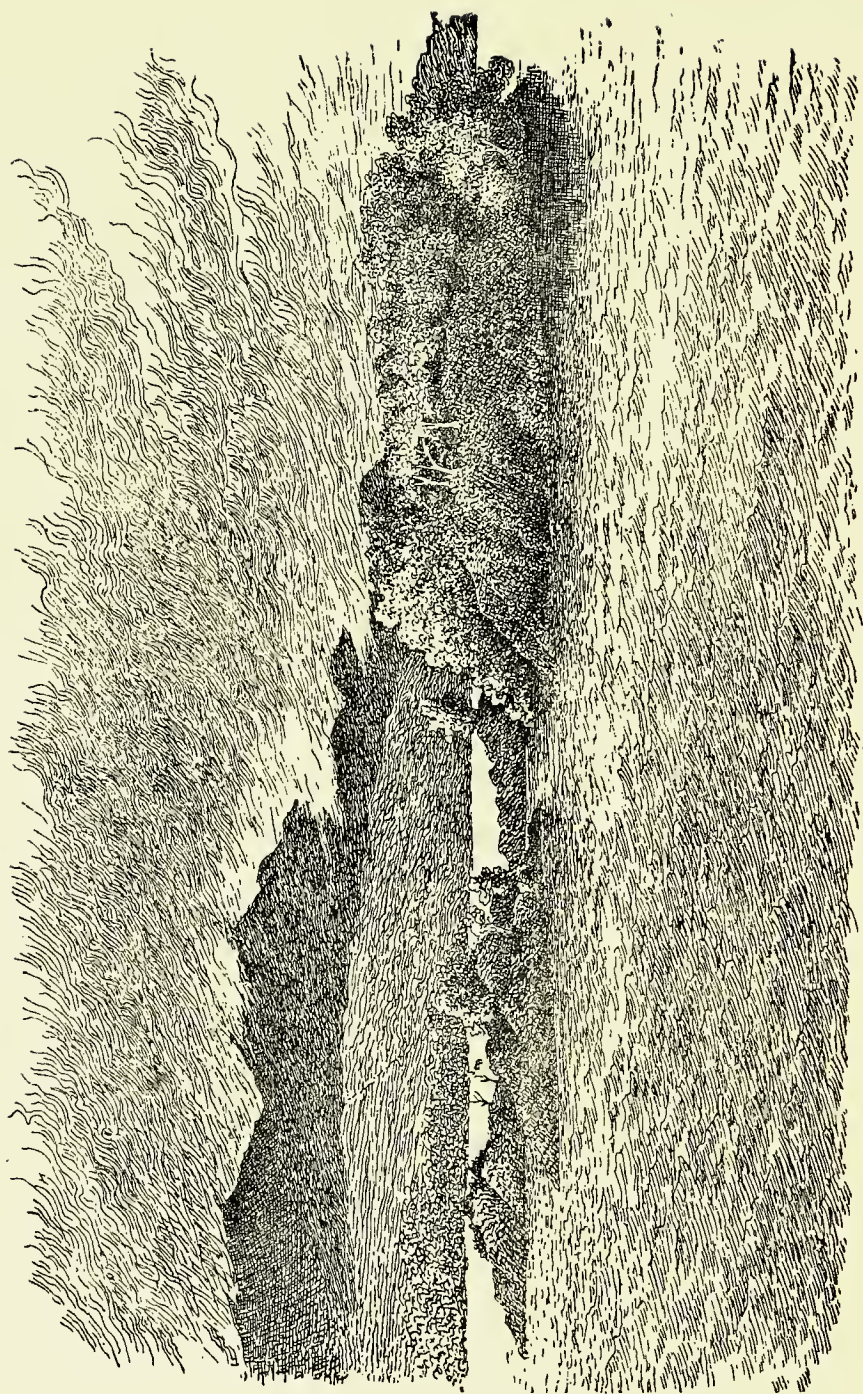
## ISLANDS IN LAKES.

Camden, writing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, mentions Derwentwater and its islands. "Derwent after it hath passed through these hills, spreadeth abroad into a large lake, (Bede tearmeth it 'praegrande stagnum,' that is, a very great poole), wherein are three lands eminent above the water : the one hath in it an house of the Ratcliffes, a family of Knights degree : the second is inhabited by the Dutch minerall men : the third is thought to be that whereon, (as Bede writeth), Saint Herbert lived an Heremetical life." Camden also notes Keswick as being "at this day much inhabited by minerall men, who have heere their smelting house by Derwent side, which with his forcible streame, and their ingenious inventions serveth them in notable steede for easie bellowes workes, hammer workes, forge workes, and sawing of boords, not without admiration of such as behold it."

On the small island of Rampholme, which Camden does not appear to notice, remains of iron slag are found, which is similar to that in the Furness bloomeries, and is probably of earlier date than the works of the Dutchmen. The name itself is perhaps derived from ramp, a wild kind of garlic.

Compare also Peel Island in Coniston Lake, where remains of ancient buildings have been found, together with traces of iron operations, to which experts assign a mediæval date.

The island of Silverholme in Windermere is said to owe its name to an indistinct tradition that a hoard of silver is buried on the island, but by whom, or when, or why, history does not relate.



PEEL ISLAND IN THURSTON WATER.

## APPENDIX III.

## THE ISLAND HERMIT OF DERWENTWATER.

On St. Herbert's Island are the ruined remains of a small building now overgrown with underwood, which was probably the chapel built there in 1374, when the place became the object of a parish pilgrimage, in accordance with a charter of indulgence from the Bishop of Carlisle, which decreed that on 15th April, in every year, the Vicar of Crosthwaite (Keswick) should visit the island and there celebrate mass, and to all who should attend on that day for devotion and in memory of St. Herbert was granted an indulgence of 40 days: the charter speaks of Herbert as "priest and disciple of Saint Cuthbert, who in an island of the water (fluvii) of Derwent led a solitary and holy life." What was the nature of the old cell of St. Herbert may be gathered from Bede's description of the refuge which Cuthbert (Herbert's friend and companion) built on Farne Island in Northumberland for himself:—"the building was almost of round form from wall to wall, about 4 or 5 poles in extent: the wall was so high that he could not see out, only piously gaze at the heavens: it was built of rough stones and turf: there were two chambers in the house, one an oratory, the other for domestic purposes, the roof being of rough poles and straw."—(*Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Journal*, vol. vi.).



## APPENDIX IV.

## EARLY REFERENCE TO WINDERMERE CHURCH.

*Ecclesiastical Taxation of England and Wales by the authority  
of Pope Nicholas IV. about A.D. 1291.*

In 1288 Pope Nicholas IV. granted the tenths of the revenues of all benefices in England to Edward I. for six years, on the Assumption (by the latter) of the Cross, and towards defraying the expense of a crusade to the Holy Land : and that they might be collected to their true value, a taxation by the king's precept was begun in 1288 and finished as to Canterbury in 1291, and York 1292, under the direction of John, Bishop of Winton, and Oliver, Bishop of Lincoln.

This taxation is an important record, because all the taxes, both to the King and Pope, were regulated by it until the Survey of Henry VIII. in 1530.

Windermere at that date was in the archdeaconry of Richmond, diocese of York, and deanery of Kendal. Under this taxation "ecclesia de Wynandermer" is given as £10, and "ecclesia de Gressemer" £16. (It is not clear whether the amounts are the total value or only the tenth). The pension of the Abbot of York in ecclesia de Wynandermer was £1 13s. 4d. and in the ecclesia de Gressemer also £1 13s. 4d.

A few years afterwards a new tax was imposed, when £2 13s. 4d. was added to Windermere, and £3 6s. 8d. to Grasmere.



## APPENDIX V.

## CHAPEL OR CHANTRY OF ST. CATHERINE, WINDERMERE.

A chapel or chantry, dedicated to St. Catherine, stood by the side of the ancient pack-horse track leading from Whitehaven over the Hardknott and Wrynose passes to Kendal. Its site is half way up the steep hill above Troutbeck bridge. It was probably the earliest place of christian worship in this district, and is said to have been served at intervals by ecclesiastics from Furness Abbey, and to have fallen into disuse after the building of Bowness and Troutbeck churches. Fragments of its walls still remained until 1875, when the grounds of Chapel Ridding were laid out, and its stones were used to make a boundary for a cottage garden. The present owner caused some of the quoins to be carefully selected and piled up into a small cairn on the original site, which is easily identified by the foundations. It must have been a very small building, less than 20 feet square. The names of the modern residences, Chapel Ridding and St. Catherine's, derive from this mediæval place of worship, and the name of the cottages at the top of the hill, "The Crosses," is probably in the same connection. There appears to be no authentic data about the old chapel except its site, the place names, and its position marked on a very old map. The farm next to "The Crosses" is called "The Causey," from a paved Roman road which led across it, now almost obliterated.

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NOTE.—I am indebted to Mr. William Little of Chapel Ridding, Windermere, for the above interesting account of this old chapel. As I only received it just before the book went to press, I have had no opportunity of further inquiring into the history of the chapel: it is a subject which would well repay further investigation.—A.P.B.













